WORK AND MATERIALS

FOR

AMERICAN HISTORY

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
RELEASED LIBRARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RELEASED UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

In 1867, 8, 9, the late Dr. George H. Moore contributed to the Historical Magazine a series of articles on early American History, which are here printed from the type of that magazine. They were, without doubt, thus printed with the intention of making a volume, as it is well known that Mr. Dawson the editor, was in the habit of doing. At the sale of Dr. Moore's books I bought eighteen copies of the sheets which are offered as I found them, with the addition of a title page and List of Contents. Somewhat more was printed in the magazine, but for reasons which I fully understand, but will say nothing about, the contributions were discontinued.

CHAS. L. WOODWARD.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Letter written by Richard Wharton at Boston, September 24, 1673..... 1
Some Proposition concerning ye ill consequence of New Yorke being in ye hands of ye Dutch. By Wm. Dyre, Gent..... 7
Accompt of Iroquois Indians..... 11
Notes on the Maintenance of the Ministry and Poor in New York. Trinity Church and its first resident Rector 14
The New England Synod of 1637..... 72
Dudley's Request to Winthrop on his Death-bed..... 83
The Massachusetts Laws of 1648, and Joseph Hills..... 85
Postscript to the foregoing article—A Notice of some remarks on the same subject by a recent editor of Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, etc..... 91
The Pilgrim's Progress in New England.... 104
Cotton Mather's opinion of Homer..... 105

PAGE

Doctor Chauncey's Character of the Massachusetts General Court, 1747..... ... 105

"Prophetic Voices about America." — In the Millennium..... 106

Rev. Nathaniel Ward — His Massachusetts Election Sermon in 1641, and his Sermon before the House of Commons in 1647 His reply to Cotton in 1647..... .. 110

Giles Firmin and his Various Writings..... 120

The Cross in the King's colors in Massachusetts..... .. 137

Certain Propositions for the better accommodating the Foreigne Plantations with Servants reported from the Committee to the Councell of Forcigne Plantations [Circa, 1684]..... 144

John Saffin and his Domestic relations..... 149

[Unfinished.]

WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.

1.—Richard Wharton to ———, 24 Sept. 1673.

Boston in New Engl^d Sept^r 24, 1673.

Hon^rd S^r.

Those undeserved kindnesses & fav^rs you have manifested to some of my nearest & most necessitous Relations & those ingagem^ts you have laid upon my selfe by offering a Correspondence & Communication have sometimes made me ashamed of my so long silence, but the constant hopes I have had of a suddain returne to make a psonall acknowledgement of my obligation, as they have again satisfyed me so I hope they will you alsoe: But now finding myselfe wrapped up & confined by buisiness & restrained from y^t opportunity, I am willing at once to lay hold upon this occasion to express my respects & confess my defect in duty to yo^rselfe and manifest my allegiance & loyalty to his Majesty. I remember yo^r request & injunction to acq^t you with such novell affayres & occurrents as might fall under my knowledge & observation: And I know yo^r intelligence is such y^t I need not copy out the Charter & Constitutions of these Colonyes

to you, nor informe you of the extent of his Majtys Territoryes upon this Continent, nor yt his subjects have planted themselves & proclaimed his soveraignty in all the habitable pts betwen Cape-Sable & Cape Romane, nor wt a fair foundation was here lately laid for the Royall ofspring of Great Brittain to build a most glorious empire upon, nor need I to you enumerate the many usefull & rich commodityes yt nature affords & yt Art & Industry may produce in these plantations : Onely this I confidently tell you & am psuaded that though these pts of the world are disesteemed by the Princes of Europe, yet if the most potent among them were seated with their subjects upon this continent it would be more difficult to psuade them to returne to their ancient Dominions, then now it is to remove them thence.

You are not ignorant, I know, yt his Royall Highness with a vast expence gained (& hath since maintained, from the Dutch a province by them called the Manados, since in his Highness possession New Yorke, which of late is most shamefully given up to the Dutch. The occasion whereof I shall briefly relate to you. Upon the 11 of July last Cornelius Everson with eight ships of Warr & a fire ship attacked or Virginia fleet at the appointed rendezvous for their returne home neer Poynt Comfort & at ye same place had the same success as in the yeare 67 (burning & taking 19 sayle) onely ye convoyes escaped & Capt. Gardner by his resolute & good behaviour gained not onely from his friends but enemyes an honrable report. The enemy having there thus effected their designe resolved to goe unto Delaware Bay to wood and water, but finding no sufficient Pilotts in their fleet for yt place & having severall psons of this place prisoners yt were

well acquainted at N. Yorke, they resolved for Staten Island to recruite & by w^t o^r people pceived were rather afraid of receiving some disturbance from New Yorke then giving any to it: But whilest they rid there severall of their countreymen from New Yorke in Canoues & boats went privately aboard and gave intelligence by the weakeness & disorder of the place that the Govern^r was gone to Connecticutt, the garrison souldiers most drawne out, the guns in the fort most dismounted or the carriages rotten or unready none fitt to command in place, the people generally dissatisfyed with the oppression of such as ruled the towne and trade and y^t they were ready to revolt: upon which invitations & incouragem^ts they were imboldened to bring up their ships ag^t the Towne & finding no resistance landed about 500 men who in a strait & long street leading to the fort (which was very strong & defensible) they marched up to the fort (& in their march were onely saluted with one gunn) & upon their approach the English flagg was struck & the gates sett open, so y^t without the least dispute or complem^t the English marched out & the Dutch into the Fort & finding themselves so peceably possessed & the English so tamely taken, they marched out of the fort again, disarmed these few souldiers that the officers had so betrayed & finding their entrance & entertainem^t so facil & friendly they made present seizure of the estates of the English & dispatched a small frigott up to Fort Albanye with a summons & declaration y^t N. Yorke had surrendered & offer of the same termes & articles granted to N. Yorke, which without any inquiry or further capitulation were accepted & so the Estates & persons of the English there by their owne inadvertency betrayed into the power of the enemy.

Their next stratagem was to invite Col. Lovelace who from Connecticutt was gone over to Long Island, to come in, who it is supposed for protection from the deserved punishm^{t} answered their invitation, leaving the poor people upon y^{t} Island, without commission or commander to stand up for their defence, which y^{e} Dutch (having Col. Lovelace prisoner) well understanding required all the Townes upon y^{e} Island to send in their constable's staffs & Col^{rs} & come to receive new ones from the Prince of Orange, & all the Townes except Southampton readily subjected after the example of their Govern^{r}. Some psons from Southampton made application to the Gener^{ll} Court here for assistance. The messenger John Cooper, a resolute man, proposing it as easy with an 100 armed men to proclaime his Maj^{ty} in all the Townes upon Long Island having commission thereto, the English there, though they have carryed in their staffes & Col^{rs} being not under oath to the Dutch & desirous to returne to their allegiance would but any appear with commission to require them so to doe. It was further proposed with considerable incouragem^{ts} as that w^{ch} highly concerned his hon^{r} & was the duty & security of the Countrey to raise forces also to reduce New Yorke, which with y^{e} Volunteers y^{t} would have come in might easily have been effected; But o^{r} Deputyes in the Gen^{ll} Court wholly refused to ingage the Countrey in the undertaking: So the enemy are likely quietly to injoy w^{t} they have acquired till His Majesty give them disrest & indeed my principle buisiness as in duty & allegiance I am bound is to informe as a fitt pson to acq^{t} his Maj^{ty} how much his hon^{r} & the maintenance & continuance of his just title upon this continent and adjacent islands call upon him by some speedy & effectual

expedition to unkennell his enemyes. New Yorke is in the navelle of his Majestyes Territorye & his subjects on both sides are so familiarized to the Dutch by trade & converse, y^{t} all will not believe they are their enemyes. And having such a convenient place of shelter & resort for their shipping his Majesty's subjects will be universally infested if not overrun & conquered in their Plantations & destroyed in their navigation as the said news from Virginia & this day from Newfoundland informs us, viz: That some of those ships y^{t} went from New Yorke have been in Newfoundland & taken all the English vessels in y^{t} countrey giving us pticul^{r} information of five or six belonging to this Jurisdiction. If speedy care be taken bef^{re} the Enemy send furth^{r} strength or supplyes, two or three frigotts with two or three hundred men for land service with such force as may be raised here will be sufficient. But in such case the frigotts must be here in February or March at furthest or else the Enemy will gain the goal before them. And o^{r} souldiers must have warm cloathing & bedding aboard, or else the frost will unfitt them for service. The private Capt^{ns} ought to be men of courage & experience & were I worthy to advise, the Generall Officer should be elected in this Countrey who by his knowledge thereof & the interests & inclinations of the people here, & the enemyes methods & dependances might more gratefully levy & successfully conduct the forces. His Majesty hath many worthy subjects here & psons fitt for command, amongst whom I shall onely name Maj^{r} Daniell Dennison, sometimes Maj^{r} Gen^{ll} here. He is a gentleman, a scholar, & a souldier & all that is requisite to make a man a loyall & serviceable subject. But I am too premptory in such intimations, onely I

consider it is not immediately to my Prince but to my friend, who if anything be pertinent hath prudence to pick it out and candour to pardon w^{t} is insignificant. For a more certain knowledge of the constitutions of o^{r} gouvernment & complexions of the people I referr you to M^{r} Edw^{d} Rainsborough an intellig^{t} Gentleman who went home three months since. I have requested him to wait on you & communicate w^{t} I have advised him. If S^{r} you should be instrumentall to send any frigotts to these p^{ts} hasten them as much as possible (for two may be more serviceable in March than six in May), and if M^{r} Robert Woolley or any other friends or correspondents of mine desire conveyance for any goods to me, lett me request yo^{r} interest to accommodate them. S^{r} pray read this as my grounded persuasion of the declension of his Maj^{tys} interest in these p^{ts} without some speedy prevention, & expose not this to the view or knowledge of any y^{t} may make relation of it here. Excuse me if neither time, paper, nor your patience without a trespass, will admitt an entrance into pticular communication which hereafter I may adventure upon. In the interim remayne S^{r}

Yo^{r} obliged Kinsman & faithfull Serv^{t}

Richard Wharton.

M^{r} Rainsborough dwells at Knights bridge & is to be heard of at M^{r} Whiting's shop upon the old Exchange.

S^{r} My Wife presents yo^{r}selfe and Lady with her service desiring her to accept a barrell of Cranberryes & a pott of refined sugar for Winter Tarts, ship'd aboard the Pinck Providence, W^{m} Piper, Master.

2.—Some Proposition concerning ye ill consequence of New Yorke being in yE hands of Ye Dutch, wth something in order to the retaking and settling it under his maties obedience again.

Most humbly offered to yor Lordship's consideration, by Wm Dyre, Gent.

The Province of New Yorkshire wholy in ye possession of ye Dutch, is not only a perticular loss to his Matie a generall ruine to his English subjects there, and highly injurious to ye adjacent Colonies; but above all prejudiciall to ye whole American Trade: by wch his Maties customes are abated, many mrchants undon, and much shiping lost.

By reason ye Enemy thereby has ye convenience to repair their ships and recrute wth provisions in yt port. Taking all oppertunity to be at ye Capes of Virginia, surprising what ships are bound in thither, wth ye like advantage upon all ye Coasts of New England, Newfoundland, ye Caribee Island and Carolina wch gives a severe check to ye navigation of those parts.

And for as much as ye said port of New Yorke is ye very center and key of his Maties Dominions in America, it is as commodious whilest in obedience, or ye contrary when in an enemy's hand, as yt of Tangiers to ye streights or ye Downs to ye Channell of England: And ye loss of it as hurtfull to his Maties Western afairs, as those mought be to his Uropian Concerns.

Wherefore if ye thing were right stated, and truly represented to ye King's most excellt Matie yt so his Matie may be graciously pleased to digest ye matter into a resolution of sending some force to reduce ye province, and rout out ye insulting enemy, who now disturbs ye quiet of all

y^e^ American Plantac̃ons, and greatly impoverishes y^e^ poor inhabitants thereof. To prevent w^ch^ and all other ensuing mischiefs there, is easie, if his Ma^tie^ please to dispatch away 4 ships from 30 to 40 guns apiece w^ch^ will be sufficient force, both for safe convoy of y^e^ Virginia fleet out and home, and also to make his Ma^tie^ master of y^e^ said province to a far greater advantage than formerly, by expelling y^e^ Dutch inhabitants who have given just grounds for y^e^ same, by throwing off their late subjection and obedience to his Ma^tie^. In this Expedition there will be no need of sending land forces from hence, seeing they may be had in New England, if there be occasion, and a way found to pay them of there, w^thout puting his Ma^tie^ to y^e^ charg of transporting an army out and home.

If when ye fleet arrive it be found necessary to form a body by land, I dare presume to ingage my life for y^e^ raising men enough through my acquaintance and interest in them parts, provided his Ma^tie^ be graciously pleased to grant orders for y^e^ same, and give commissions to such as are men of estates there, good souldiers and loyally affected to his Ma^ties^ service, by whos ready complyance and faithfull assistance y^e^ design may soon be accomplished, and y^e^ sould^rs^ when paid and disbanded, forthwith repair to their respective habitac̃ons again.

But until his Ma^ties^ pleasure is to order and command an assistance from y^e^ inhabitants of New England, it is most certain they will not move; alledging y^t^ New York is a distinct Colony under another Government and confered upon his Royall Highness, Wherefore they have no cause to ptend any just grounds for entering into a warr w^th^ y^e^ Dutch upon their own account, w^ch^ they are ill able to maintain by sea,

though by land sufficiently capable if they please to proceed to action, though my psent fears do aptly suggest (considering y^e^ estate of those Colonys and y^e^ constitution of their inhabitants) that in this exigent, w^th^out succor, they may be compelled to embrace such terms as may be of a very ill and dangerous consequence, both to his Ma^tie^ and all his good subjects there, if they have not speedy relief by shiping from hence.

In all this I chiefly respect his Ma^ties^ interest, and y^e^ publique good and also as a dutifull subject have a tender regard to y^e^ wellfair of those suffering Plantations, by whos produce his Ma^tie^ receives £150,000 customes yearly, upon w^ch^ account I am y^e^ bolder to spred y^e^ case before yo^r^ Lordship, psuming to urge it, in hope y^t^ by yo^r^ noble sense thereof, and generous motions in y^e^ same, his Ma^ties^ revenue shall be preserved, and y^e^ subjects rights secur'd.

When y^e^ said place is reduced, the next thing in order to secure y^e^ same intire, will be to expell all y^e^ people of y^e^ Dutch nation, fortify the entrances and settle a garrison so as it shall be almost impossible for any enemy to invade or do spoyl for y^e^ future Especially if y^e^ military affairs be put under y^e^ command of such experienced officers, as shall faithfully preserve his Maj^ties^ interest there, and not distroy it and the Plantations. And then for y^e^ better peopling, planting and strengthening of y^e^ province it will be requisite y^t^ all y^e^ farms, houses and grounds of y^e^ Dutch inhabitants be sold, for his Ma^ties^ advantage at reasonable rates to encourage English settlers in them parts, who may be more induced thereunto by his Ma^ties^ indulgent Governm^t^ of that place.

Thus would it become a flourishing Colony and y^t^ immediately if his Ma^tie^ please to appoint

a Govern^{r} that is acquainted wth y^{e} manners and Constitutions of y^{t} Countrey, whom y^{e} executing those laws, Acts and Ord^{rs} both Civil and Ecclesiasticall w^{ch} shall be established there, may carry a gentle even Decorum wthout rigour, severity or extream compulsion in things of Indifference.

By this means that perpetuall charge w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} has ever been at, to maintain y^{t} place, as also y^{e} danger of its being any more lost and y^{e} inconvenience of y^{e} Dutch Nation inhabiting there may be prevented, and y^{e} port so managed as to become y^{e} magazien of America, and upon occasion give relief to y^{e} neighbour Colonies. But at all times affording a quiet and plentifull subsistence to its own inhabitants, Producing a cleer annuall proffit to his Ma^{tie}.

First. By a moderate impost upon all merchandize, port duties, great rents, fines and amercements &c.

Secondly. By building ships and otherways improving y^{e} timber to make plank, boards, frames, pipe staves and y^{e} like for sundry uses there, as well as y^{e} advantages to be made by exportation of y^{e} same.

Thirdly. By improvement of y^{e} trade wth y^{e} Natives, increase of manufacture, together with y^{e} benefite of corn, cattle and all manner of husbandry.

Fourthly. By taking whales on y^{e} south side of Long Island, which is and will be (if encouraged) of very great worth to the plantation and in a short time bring his Ma^{tie} in a considerable revenue.

There are allso good benefits to be made of y^{e} Iron ore in them parts w^{ch} is very plenty, and many other perquisits and immunities conducible both to private and publique advantages.

Lastly, if yo^{r} Lordship, to y^{e} effecting of y^{e} good ends afforesaid, shall be pleased to promote and forward y^{e} sending a small force to put a stop to y^{e} dayly losses sustained in y^{e} shiping and trade of y^{e} above mentioned places w^{ch} would be profitable to his Ma^{tie} and give many thousand poor distressed souls cause to have yo^{r} Lordships name in perpetuall honour And heartily to pray for yo^{r} Lordships psent health and future happiness, as most unfeignedly does

Yo^{r} Lordships
humble and obliged Servant.

3.—"Accompt of Iroquois Indians."

The Iroquois (so called by the French) to the Northward of Manhattens (now New York) and west of Orenge (now New Albany) are Indian Natives, the most warlike in North America, seated in a trackt of land west from the said Albany (and head of Hodson's or New York River) to the south of the Lakes vulgarly called the Lakes of Canada; But the said Indians are likewise distinguished by severall names and places or Castles of abode as (by the English) the Maquas or Mahaks live about 25 leagues from Albany in 3 Castles distant about 4 or 5 leagues, stockaded round. The Oneidas live about 30 leagues, more west and have but one castle. The Onondagues live about 10 leagues further, and have but one castle, seated nere the Lake Onontario. The Coyouges are about 15 or 20 leagues further, but more southerly, and further from the Lake, have but one castle. The Sineques live about 25 or 30 leagues more west, Northerly nere the Lake, have 3 Castles or greate

settlements, but not fortifyed distant about 4 or 5 leagues. All the said Indians have Misionary father Jesuits from Canada (and which are also in more distant parts) and all the said Indians have distinct Sachems but were never at variance, their language is the same, so as to understand each other, though with some variation (as in severall provinces of a Kingdome in Europe) Other neighbouring Indians have severall different speeches, not understood by each other. The Sineques have hunting habitations on the other or Northerne side of the Lake Onontario which Lake is reputed to bee nere 100 French leagues long S. W. and N. E. and above 25 broad and is very deepe water, and on the said Lake the French (about 10 yeares past and upwards) have had a sloope or vessell of about 20 Tuns with sayles and a lyter that tends on a small fort, or trading place, built by Monsr La Sale at the north end of the Lake, from whence about 60 leagues to Mount Royall in which space above 30 Cataraks or falls not navigable and 60 leagues to Quebeck navigable, there is usually in Cataroquy kept about 15 or 20 men the said Lake is distant from Albany about 50 or 55 leagues.

The above said Indians have allwayes had a good corespondence and friendship with Albany and beene understood or taken to bee as other neighbouring Indians on this side the Lake's dependence and part of the Government, which themselves doe also owne and have beene no otherwise treated for many yeares; But the said Indians particularly Maquas or Mahaks had continued disputes and warrs with the French of Canada, till about the yeare 1668, when the French made 2 inroades into the said Maquas or Mahaks country; the first with about 500 men but mistaking their way and the Indians pre-

pared they retreated with some losse; their second expedition and inroade was with 1000 men or upwards and then they surprised the said Indians who all fled, and the French entred and burnt their Castles and then they made peace which hath been observed ever since, and a free trade (tho' sometymes endeavoured by the French to be diverted from other parts) to Canada, where they sell to the Indians all sorts of goods and liquers, and particularly armes, powder, shott &c. as in other places.

In the yeare 1675 the said Indians having made application to the Governour at Albany and the New England Indian Warr being then very violent, the Governour resolved as necessary to goe himselfe, as far as the Maquas or Mahaks habitations to visitt and view them as part of the Government and went to their farthest Castle, and was received and treated by them there accordingly, and after sent to the others as far as Sinequess, and they observed and obeyed his directions and orders and proved very faithfull &c. And the Mahaks were the first that beat Phillipp the Indian Sachim of New England who had wintred that way in hopes to gaine them or others, Driving him back to New England sea side, and would have pursued if sufferred. The said Iroquois and their lands are seated on the back of the Kings plantations and head of the Rivers as far West as Virginia, and east neare to Albany, and some settlements and improvements are made by Christians upon part of their said land purchased or gott from the Maquas or Mahaks within Stanextady and Albany's Bounds in New York Government, and the said Indians habitations and castles are in or about the latitude of 43 degrees (M^{r} Pens Northerne Bounds of Pensilvania.)

The said Iroquois and all other Indians in those parts are greate hunters of all sorts of wild creatures, beasts and fowles, which they kill most with fire arms (except Beavers) and trade with all Christians for what they want, and are by them supplyed perticularly with armes and ammunicon (as in Canada, so) in all his Maties plantations of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Mariland, Virginia &c And if debarred or prohibited by any one Colony or Government, the said place would not onely loose the trade to the benefit of the other neighbouring parts, but hazzard greater mischiefs from the said Indians discontent, by their pilfring, private injuryes, or open warr, which would bee very prejudiciall, not onely to the interest of his Royll Highness (the Proprietor.) but even to all other his Maties neighbouring subjects, in as much as in the late New England warr with the Indians 'tis probable all those Countreyes would have beene in greate dainger of being destroyed, had not the Government of New York retained an influence over these Indians, not onely as they are reputed part of the Government, but with their constant free trade with those of New Yorke.

4.—Notes on the Maintenance of the Ministry and Poor in New York—The Colonial Ministry Acts—The Vestry of the City of New York—The Minister of the City of New York—Trinity Church and its first resident Rector.

The maintenance of the Ministry and Poor under the earliest English Laws in New York, was

provided for by the appointment of eight* of the most able men, men of good fame and life, of each parish as Overseers,† two of whom were chosen the first or second day of April yearly by the Constable and Overseers to be Church Wardens. These overseers were chosen by the Householders of the Parish or the Freeholders in each Town, and were liable to a fine for refusal to serve. Their duties embraced the making and proportioning the levies and assessments for building and repairing churches, provision for the poor,‡ maintenance for the minister, as well as the more orderly managing of all Parochial Affairs in other cases expressed. The Constable was associated with them in making all assessments—which were to be proportionable to the estates of the inhabitants in the town or parish where they were to be made, and every defaulter was to be compelled to pay his rate by attachment or distress of goods to be levied by the Constable. No person was exempted from payment of the Church rates, every inhabitant being obliged to contribute to all charges both in Church and State, "whereof he doth or may re-"ceive benefit." This feature in the law appears to have met with some opposition. It was repealed at the first meeting of the Court of Assizes in 1665, but was restored two years afterward,

* The number of overseers was afterwards reduced to four.

† In the Virginia law of that period these "overseers" were "vestrymen"—and they were required to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy and to subscribe to conform to the Church of England. Hening: ii., 15. In New York the overseers were required to take the oath of allegiance besides the oath of their office.

‡ The Maintenance of the Poor in New Netherland was provided for by contributions taken up in the Churches, and the fines imposed for offences committed were also appropriated to their support. The amount was increased by voluntary offerings from the inhabitants—and was known as the Deacons' or Poor-Fund. *Col. Doc.* i., 300. 424.

by the same authority, "to be as punctually ob-"served, as any other law, any former order "to the contrary notwithstanding."

From the beginning, great regard was manifested for the due protection and observance of the Lord's Day. Sunday Laws form a part of the earliest English legislation in the province. Sundays were not to be profaned by travellers, laborers, or vicious persons. Sabbath-breaking was expressly enumerated among the abominable sins and misdemeanors to be presented by the Church wardens, Constable and Overseers at the Sessions. The Constable was required to arrest without warrant such as were guilty of Sabbath-breaking—and no writs or warrants were allowed to be executed on the Sabbath day, although officers might arrest in case of Riots, Felony or Escape out of Prison.

The first code also required that in each parish within the Government a church should be built in the most convenient part thereof, capable to receive and accommodate two hundred persons. This was found impracticable, for in the Amendments made at the meeting of the Gen eral Assizes in September and October of the same year, (1665) it was provided that such churches should be built within three years afterwards and to that end, a Town rate or tax was authorized to begin that year.

A good degree of liberality prevailed in the government. The articles of Capitulation declared that "the Dutch here shall enjoy the Liberty of "their Consciences in divine Worship and Church "Discipline." None but Protestant ministers were allowed to officiate within the government, but difference in judgment was allowed to all who professed Christianity. Indian Powawing and Devil Worship were expressly prohibited.

Governor Nicolls, in his Conditions for New Planters in the Territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, (May, 1665) allowed liberty of conscience, "provided such liberty is not "converted to Licentiousness, or the Disturbance "of others, in the exercise of the Protestant Religion." By another condition the maintenance of the Ministry was provided for:

"Every Township is obliged to pay their Min- "ister according to such Agreement as they shall "make with him, and no man to refuse his Pro- "portion, the Minister being elected by the "Major part of the Householders Inhabitants of "the Town."

On the 11th October, 1664, Dominies Joannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius appeared before the Burgomasters and stated that they had received their discharge from the Company "in "date the last of the month of September, not- "withstanding which as they were inclined to "serve the Commonalty, they had addressed "themselves to the Heer Governour Richard Nic- "olls and spoke to his Honour about the wages, "who gave them for answer that it runs for the "time of six months to which time the Company "is receiving the Recognitions (Duties) after "which time he shall see how the matter shall "be arranged—that in order to ascertain how "they shall have to regulate themselves, they "with that view applied to the Burgomasters to "speak to their Worships thereon; to which the "Burgomasters replied, that the Acc[s] of the City's "Income and Expenditure shall be made up as "soon as possible, which shall then be shewn to "the H[r]. Governour Rich. Nicolls and they shall "then speak further with his Honour regarding "the wages as well of the Ministers as of the "other servants of the city." *B & S. Vol. V.* 599.

On 11th Oct. 1664, Mr. Evert Pieterzen, Schoolmaster of this City, represents, as his allowance from the Company is struck off, that Burgomasters and Schepens shall be pleased to keep him at the same allowance to wit: fl. 36 per month, fl. 125 for board, Hollands currency, free house for school and residence, and free passage to Patria; offering his Service and to continue the same. The order was that the Petitioner shall have to be patient for the space of Eight days, when his petition shall be disposed of. *M. & A. V.* 606. And on the 18th of October the matter was postponed "a day or two." *Ibid. V.* 613.

September 19, 1665. Mr. Evart Pieterzen petitioned for a suitable salary, as he was heretofore paid by the Hon^ble^ Company, and has been continued in his employment.

"Whereas orders shall be shortly made rela-
"tive to the Salary of the Ministers of this City,
"under which the Precentorship also comes, pro-
"per order shall then be made herein likewise."
Mayor and Aldermen, VI. 73,

November 13, 1665. The Chh. very low, there not being money enough to fence off the grave yard—an advance was made from the Burghers' Excise the Chh. Wardens promising to refund the same from the first incoming money. *Ibid.* 105,

May 8th, 1666. Capt. Steynmetz entering demands payment of a year's rent of his house, hired to the city as a City School, due on the first of this month; amounting to the sum of fl. 260.

Petitioner is requested to wait yet a while, as there is at present no money in the chest. *M. & A. VI.* 178.

Governor Nicolls issued an order in 1665, authorizing and requiring the Deputy Mayor and Aldermen of the City of New York to raise

the sum of 1200 Guilders in Beaver, towards the support and maintenance of the Minister of this City, to be paid in three payments by equall proportions every four months, beginning from September 1st, 1665.

On the 27 December, 1665, being informed that they had made little progress, although the first four months had nearly elapsed, he issued another order strictly requiring them to proceed, and "to give mee a List of those men, who being "able are unwilling to contribute theire propor- "tions to that good end."—*Orders, Warrants, &c.* II. 24.

At a Mayors Court, 7th February, 1666–7 The Honn^ble^ Mayor propoundinge to the Court that it was the honn^ble^ Govern^rs^ pleasure that this Town should maintaine for one yeare longer one of the Ministers of this place, and whereas several persons were departed from this Place and others disinable to pay towards the same, whom the Last Yeare had subscribed

It is ordered that some of the Inhabitants should be sent for to appeare in Court for to trye, or they would voluntarily Raise the sums which they promised the late yeares to pay towards the Maintainance of the Minist^r^.

Names of the Persons who for One Yeare longer have Voluntarily promised to pay towards the Maintainance of one of the Ministers, videllect.

	Beavers
Abell Hardebroeck	fl. 8.
Balthazar d'Haer continues as before	
Coenraet Ten Eyck	12.
Christoffel Hoaghlant	12.
Evert Duyckingh	5.
Fredrick Philipsen	24.
Fredrick Gysbersen	12.

Francois Rombouts	10.
Johannes de Peyster	16.
Cornelis Steenwick	28.
Isaack Bedloo	12.
Jacques Cousseau continues at 2 Bevers & profers 2 B^{rs} more for them that disinabled to pay what they have promised.	
Mettie Wessels	8.
Nicolaes Meyer puts down	24.
Nicolaes Backer	8.
Poulus Leenders continues	
Pieter Alrigs	10.
Johan d'Wit continues	
Jacob Leyslaer	12.
Tho. Hall	10.
Thomas Levis	8.
Symon Romeyn continues	
Jacob Hendricx Varrevanger	8.
Reynier Vander Croele till May next ensuing one Bever	
Warner Wessels	12.
Willem Abransen	8.

M. & A. VI. 260, 261.

October 29th, 1667, at a Mayors Court, in the afternoon the following persons were sent for to Court and asked why they had not paid their quota to the Ministers money

Answer as follows

Timothy Gabrie promises to satisfy the Preachers,
Tomas Laurensen promises to pay
Hendrick Willemsen Baker Idem
Jan Vrees: If he be forced, he must pay otherwise cannot.
Fredrick Arensen: Will not pay more than one year,
Lammert Mol says he cannot pay any more.
M. & A. VI. p. 325.

In the instructions by Gov. Lovelace to the Commissioners to Albany, appointed 11th April, 1670, the following is important. They were (concerning the Dutch church)

"7. To acquaint y^e^ magistrates that I look "upon that Church and Minister as the Parochiall "Church of Albany (for so it was found Estab- "lisht by my p^d^decessor & myselfe & leave the "supportation of it to y^e^ discretion of y^e^ magis- "trates to maintain a minister either by way of "Taxe or otherwise & that no Inhabitant of what "opinion soever be exempt but beare his propor- "tion, & that they give me an Account of their "transactions in this particular." *Court of Assize:* II. 490.

Lovelace's "promise for y^e^ allowing a Compe- "tent Maintenance to any Minister that shall "come over to resyde here" is in *C. of A.* II. 560. Also, dated 28 June, 1670, in *M. & A. VI.* 562.

28 March, 1671. The Mayor's Court promise to make satisfaction to Domine Egidius Luyck for his services in aid of Domine Drisius. *M. & A. VI.* 653.

5 March 1672, The Court this day allowed to Dom^e^ Luyck by way of gratuity for Preaching before Dom^e^ Nieuwenhuysen's Arrival the somme of four hundred gilders seaw^tt^ value and ordered the Secretary to make payment thereof. *M. & A. VI.* 770.

On the 11th July, 1671, Uppon his honn^r^ y^e^ gouvern^r^ Letter of Recommandation that y^e^ Court together with some of y^e^ officers of y^e^ Church should take into consideration how y^e^ Salary for y^e^ Expected Minister from Europe may be Raised y^e^ Court thereupon have thought fitt to appoint a private Court to be held on Fryday Next being y^e^ 14th of this Instant in y^e^

afternoone at a clocq and do further desire y^e^ Late Aldermen together with y^e^ Recent and y^e^ late Church Officers will give theyr attendance at y^e^ s^d^ time to consult w^th^ them conserning y^e^ premises. *M. & A.* VI. 679.

Accordingly at a private meeting 14th July, 1671,

In obedience to his Honn^r^ y^e^ Govern^rs^ Letter and in pursuance of this Courts' Order thereuppon this day appearing in Court y^e^ Former Magistraets together with y^e^ present and former Church Officers of this Citty, unto whoem the Worshipp^l^ Court Manifested y^e^ reason of this present meeting tendring onely for to advise together, how the sallarie, wch is promised towardes y^e^ Maintennance of y^e^ Expected Minister might be raised, whereuppon y^e^ following proposalls where made and presented to this Court.

Imprimis. That, whereas y^e^ Great Excyse in the first beginning was Raysed, onely towards the Maintainence of the Ministers, that therefore the Ministers ought to to be paid out of the s^d^ Excyse, although some advancem^t^ should be made thereupon.

2dly. That y^e^ Burger Excyse might be Raised soo much as will maintaine y^e^ Minister and satisfie other necessarie Charges.

3dly. That the Costumes uppon y^e^ Importation of Rom and Wines might be raised from 4 to 5 per cento or more.

4ly That an imposition might be raised uppon Rom goeing up for Albany & Esopus.

5thly That all Townes Charges might be Levyed oy a Genn^l^ Taxe, as itt is practicable by y^e^ Neighboring Townes, provided y^e^ Excyse be taken off.

Uppon which proposals, answer was made,

that y^e^ Sallary of the Ministers by y^e^ English, ussually is Levyed by a Taxe & that about two yeares since y^e^ Minist^r^ was paid by the townesmen.

Whereuppon it was Replyeth that in case y^e^ Necessity should Requiere a taxe itt should be much better that a Levy be made upon any other accompt as for the Maintenance of a Minister & secondly that y^e^ Ministers about two years since where paid by the Townesmen was onely occasioned by the tyme of Warre, when the Government was not able to Maintaine them, and therefore it was then likewise proposed to continue but for one or two yeares, by a voluntarie Contribution, finally uppon severall Debates, concerning y^e^ former proposalls, itt was mutually condiscended unto for to Returne for advise Viz^t^.

"That itt would occasion a Great discontent "amongst the people, to be both taxed & to pay "Excyse Wherefore itt is in genn^aly^ proposed, "that y^e^ Grand Excyse should be something "Raised, & that an Imposition should be laid "uppon Rom going for Albany & Esopus and "that y^e^ Selling of Licq^r^ to the Indians should "be p^r^mitted as it is throughout all the govern- "ment: And some excyse or Imposition should "be raised thereuppon or otherwyse that all the "Excyses should be totally abolished; and a "Genn^al^ Taxe for all towne Charges be made." *M. & A. VI.* 680–681.

In 1671, 26th September, upon the request of "the Officers of y^e^ Reformed Dutch Church in "this City" Governor Lovelace issued an order authorizing "the present Elders and Deacons & "those that from time to time shall succeed them "in their places," "to make a Rate or Taxe "amongst y^e^ Inhabitants, and those that shall "frequent y^e^ Church in the best and most conve-

"nient manner they can devise for y^e^ Maintenance "of their Minister or Ministers, y^e^ Clarke or "other Officers of y^e^ Church & y^e^ poore, as also "for y^e^ reparacon of y^e^ Church as occasion shall "require." The tax levy was to be submitted to the Governor for his approbation. *General Entries:* IV. 47.

An order of the Assizes in October, 1672, enforced the observance of the laws of the government as to parochial churches and declared "that "although divers persons may bee of different "judgments, yett all shall contribute to the Min- "ister established and allowed, which is noe way "judged to be an infringement of the Liberty of "Conscience, to which they may pretend."

In 1671, 21 December, the deacons of the Dutch Chh. complained that they were charged with some of the poore of the Lutheran profession notwithstanding a collection is made for the poore in the Lutheran Chh. as also that the deacons of the s^d^ Lutheran Chh. do not according to custom in a Publicq Meeting deliver up their accts how they have disposed of the money so collected," &^c^.

The Court order each Chh. should for the future maintaine their owne poore, and the Lutheran Deacons should yearly deliver up their accounts in a public meeting in the same manner as in the reformed Christian Chh. of this City until this day hath beene practicable" &^c^. *M. & A.* VI. 750.

In 1675, March 1st. Governor Andross issued an order authorizing the Elders & Deacons of the Dutch Church to levy some arrears of voluntary subscriptions made before his arrival, by "severall in this Citty and Precincts, for Mainte- "nance of their Minister or Ministers, Church "Officers, Poore, and other Church charges,"

and "to dispose and apply the same as hath been accustomed by their Predecessors," &c. They were required to keep "a due and faire Acco^t "thereof in writing." The order further required the said subscribers to pious uses to make payment accordingly. *Warrants, Orders, &c.* III. 59.

At a Councell, June 7, 1675, it was

Ordered, that y^e Courts of Sessions of y^e severall Ridings of Long Island be enjoyned to make enquiry how y^e Lawes have been putt in Execucon, in relation to y^e Church and Church affaires, and that y^e respective Townes who shall be found defective, bee forthwith ordered to do their dutyes therein: In default whereof to be proceeded against at y^e next Gen^all Court of Assizes, according to y^e Severity of y^e Law upon y^e Acco^t for their Contempt. *Council Minutes*, III. 40.

June 28, 1675, Order continuing all Magistrates and Officers, civil and military in their respective places, &c. taking Oath of Allegiance to his Majesty & Fidelity to the Duke, and to act by their established lawes as formerly:

"And that all now and hereafter enjoy their "Church Priviledges & liberty of their Con- "sciences, Unless such Persons as live scandal- "ously, or disturbe y^e publicque peace of the "Government, by acting contrary to y^e Lawes "thereof." *Council Minutes*, III. 43.

At the Court of Assizes in October of the same year, the church affairs being taken into consideration, and particularly the maintenance of the ministry, it was ordered for that object, that besides the usual Country Rate, a double rate should be levied on all those towns in which there was not already a sufficient maintenance for a minister.

In the Records of the Court of Sessions at Gravesend, 21 Dec. 1676, "the Church affairs as "to Ministers or Readers & Schooles for Children "moved to be considered: Gravesend noted to be "the most remiss herein." *Conveyances Kings Co. Lib. I. Reverse side.*

Notwithstanding the ample legal provision on the subject some of the towns appear to have been backward in carrying the laws into effect. In 1677, a petition was presented to the Gen. Court of Assizes, in which the first prayer is "that the "Maintenance and Encouragement for y^e^ Ministry "may by someway be established & that such En- "couragement may bee that there may bee a "Minister in each respective town that wants." It is noticeable too, that the next item is "that "there may also be some way established for "the Maintenance of a Schoolmaster in each "town."

The response of the Court appears to have been that the necessary order was made "last "Cort," with respect to the Ministry, while the school question was referred to the Towne and the Court of Sessions. *Col. MSS.* xxvi. 122.

In his answer to enquiries about New York in 1678, Governor Andros gave the following account of the religious state of the Province

"There are Religions of all sorts, one Church "of England, several Presbiterians and Independ- "ants, Quakers and Anabaptists, of several sects, "some Jews, but Presbiterians & Indipendants "most numerous and substantiall.

"The Duke maintains a chapline w^ch^ is all the "certain allowance or Chirch of England, but "peoples free gifts to y^e^ ministry, And all places "oblidged to build Churches and provide for a "minister, in w^ch^ most very wanting, but presbi- "terians and Independents desirous to have and

"maintaine them if to be had, There are about 20 "churches or Meeting-places of w^{ch} above halfe "vacant theire allowance like to be from 40^{li} to "70^{li} a yeare and a house and garden. Noe "beggars but all poor cared ffor. If good Min- "isters could be had to goe theither might doe "well and gain much upon those people." *Col. Doc.* III. 262.

The Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by the Duke of York in 1683–4, the Great Charter of New York, made ample provision for liberty of conscience to all Christians, and provided also for the maintenance of the Ministry of all Christian churches.

The former settlements and subscriptions for this purpose in the towns on Long Island were confirmed, as well as those which might subsequently be made in the same way—"two thirds "of the voices in any towne," concluding the minority, who were "to be regulated thereby."

The same Charter recognized all the respective Christian churches then in practice within the City of New York and the other places of this province as privileged churches, so established and confirmed by the former authority of the Government—and proceeded to confirm them in all their rights as such "from henceforth forever." The existing contracts for the maintenance of the Ministry were also ratified, and all contracts for the future were to be of the same power.

Throughout the Province, in default of payment by towns or individuals, a summary process was authorized for the collection of the assessments and subscriptions, by a warrant from any Justice of the county "to levy by distresse "with Costs and Charges," when the amount was under forty shillings, or "otherwise to be recov- "ered as the law directs."

Dongan's administration of this law was such as to elicit the praise of the Governor of New Plymouth, whose Address & Petition to the King in 1687, contains the following passage, referring to the established law for the maintenance of the ministry—

"And so it is practiced under your majesty's "Government of New York, where the Governor "there shows himself of a noble and praise- "worthy mind, by taking [care] that all the "people in each town do their duty in maintain- "ing the minister of the place, though himself "of a [different] persuasion from their way." *Hinckley Papers: M. H. S. Coll. IV. v.* 180.

When Dongan sent Captain Palmer and Mr. Graham to Connecticut in 1687 to induce them to surrender their charter, and to urge them to consent to be annexed to the Government of New York—among the advantageous terms offered was the following item—

"The Clergy to be provided for sufficiently— "hee y^{t} has least in this Govern^{t} receives £60 "per annum" *Col. MSS.* 35, 73. But the delegates found "them obstinate not to surrender to "the King." *Col. MSS. xxxv.* 64.

Among other privileges of these churches, they appear to have been exempted from taxation. In 1684, the Lutheran Congregation presented a petition to the Governor & Council, pleading their privileges, &^{c}. They allege that they had been assessed, although the Calvinists had not, and their petition is to be released, &^{c}. The opinion of the Council was, Sept. 6, 1684, "that "the house appointed for the Lutheran Minister "should be as free and exempted from taxes, as "that of the Dutch and French ministers" and their petition was remitted with this opinion to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city. *Col. MSS.* xxxi. 173. *Doc. Hist. III.* 246.

In 1683, when the people were first admitted to take part in legislation, an Act was passed for the defraying of the publique and necessary charge of each respective Citty, Towne and County throughout the province and for maintaining the poore and preventing vagabonds. This act provided for the annual election of Commissioners for the supervising the publique affairs and charge of each respective City, County and Town, and specially recognizing "the custom "and practice of his Ma^ties^ Realme of England "and all the adjacent colonies in America" to take care and provide for the poor, charged the Commissioners with that duty. The act provided securities against the importation or introduction of stranger poor. Any person not having a visible estate, or a manual craft or occupation, coming into any place within the province, was obliged to give security, not to become chargeable within two years, and captains of vessels bringing passengers into this province, were required to report them to the chief magistrate of the place, within 24 hours after their arrival.

The Commissioners appointed under this Act succeeded the "overseers" of the Duke's Laws, and were followed by the "Supervisors" of 1703. Gov. Dongan, in his Report on the State of the Province, in 1687, says "every Town and County "are obliged to maintain their own poor, which "makes them bee soe careful that noe Vagabonds, "Beggars nor Idle Persons are suffered to live "there." He adds "But as for the Kings nat-"ural-born subjects that live on Long Island & "other parts of the Government I find it a hard "task to make them pay their Ministers." *Col. Hist. III.* 415.

It was a constant instruction to the Colonial Governors to endeavour to secure due provision

for the maintenance of the ministry, and always with special intention and regard to the service of the Church of England. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was recognized, excepting in the collation to Benefices, granting licenses for marriages and probate of wills, which were reserved to the Governor or Commander in chief for the time being.

Among the earliest suggestions from Governor Sloughter and his Council to the Assembly in 1691, came that of a suitable provision for a Ministry in every Town and its maintenance, and An Act for that purpose was prepared and offered to the Consideration of the Assembly by the Governor.

The Assembly appear to have been sensible of the propriety of the provision proposed, and in their list of several bills sent to the Attorney General to be drawn up (18 Apl. 1691) the first in order is

"A Bill for settling the Ministry, and allotting "a Maintenance for them, in each respective City "and Town, within this Province, that consists "of forty families and upwards."

Mr. George Farewell was sent by his Excellency to supply the Attorney General's place in drawing up the proposed bills—took the minutes and Heads of the divers bills on the 20 April, 1691. On the same day, a Recommendation from divers Freeholders, in respect to Mr. *Edward Slade*, Minister, to officiate as Pastor or Minister, in this City was read, and referred to his Excellency himself, as Ordinary, and the only proper judge, in this Matter. On the 1st. of May, Mr. Farewell's bill for the Settlement of the Ministry, &c. was read the first time, and not answering the intent of this house, is rejected, and ordered that another bill be brought in. Geo. ffarewell's

Bill of Costs, 20 May, 1691, charged for drawing the following bills "all wch were drawn by mee "alone"—A Bill for settling the Ministry, A Bill to appoint Schoolemasters, A Bill to regulate abuses on the Lord's Day, and a Bill for raising £2000—£3.0.0. and the following "in "wch Mr. Emott assisted—for my part" £.2.0.0. A Bill of Indemnity—A Bill to ease People scrupulous in Swearing—and a Bill for establishing the Revenue—*Col. MSS.* 37, 117 and 118. The same bill gives the fees as theire Matys Counsell in the Leisler prosecutions, &c.

At the next session, August 23, 1692, it was ordered that a bill may be drawn for the better observation of the Lord's Day, and that each respective Town within this province have a Minister or Reader, to read Divine Service.

Soon after Gov. Fletcher's arrival, at his first meeting with the Assembly summoned by him, 24 Oct. 1692, he recommended a provision for the support and encouragement of an able Ministry. At their second meeting, 22 March, 1693, he renewed his recommendation, referring to his previous message on the subject, and adding "I "do not understand that you have made one step "towards it: therefore recommend it to your "particular care this sessions."

On the 1st April, 1693, the Assembly ordered that the Committee formerly appointed for the settling the Ministry and Schoolmasters, do forthwith proceed upon that business.

On the 3d April, 1693, the Committee appointed for the settling of a Ministry throughout the Province, desire that they may have further Time, for the Consideration thereof, whereupon it was

Ordered, That they make report of their Proceeding to this House, on Thursday Morning next [6th April]

The deficiencies in the Journal of this session include the record of the further proceedings on this subject, but it is apparent that the Governor's views were not promoted by the action of the Assembly; and at the close of the session, he told them

"Gentlemen: The first thing that I did recommend to you at our last meeting, was to provide "for a Ministry; and nothing done in it. There "are none of you but what are big with the "privilege of Englishmen, and Magna Charta, "which is your right; And the same Law doth "provide for the religion of the Church of England, against Sabbath breaking, swearing and "all other profanity. But as you have made it "last and postponed it this Sessions, I hope you "will begin with it the next meeting and doe "somewhat towards it effectually."

In the same year, he summoned a new assembly and in his opening speech, renewed his former recommendation — as "always the first "thing I have recommended, yet the last in your "consideration. I hope you are all satisfied of "the great necessity and duty that lies upon you "to do this, as you expect His blessing upon "your labors."

On the same day (12 Sept. 1693) the assembly promptly responded by the following order:

Ordered, That Major Merrett, Mr. Theale, Major Wessels, Mr. Van Ecklen, Captain Jackson, Mr. Rutsen, Col. Pierson, and Mr. Stillwell be a Committee to agree upon the easiest and best Methods, for the calling and settling a Ministry, in each respective precinct throughout the Province, and make report thereof tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock. This committee consisted of one from each County—Ulster and Dutchess being at that time represented together.

The report of the Committee was duly presented at 8 A. M. Sept. 13., read and ordered to be recommitted to the said Committee for further consideration till 2 o'clock P. M.—when the Committee desired till tomorrow for their report. On the next day, 14th, their report being read several Debates did arise thereon, so it was recommitted to the said Committee for further consideration. On the 15th the report was read and approved, and an Order was made that a bill be brought in for the establishing of it [the Ministry] accordingly.

On the 19th Sept. 1693, Mr. Speaker brought in the bill for settling the Ministry, &c, which was read a first and second time, and ordered to be committed to the former Committee of the whole house. And on the 21 Sept. 1693, the Bill, &c, with its Amendments &c, was read a third time, and passed and ordered to be sent up to the Governor and Council, for their consent.

On the same day, the Council ordered the bill for settling a Ministry to be read a second time. [I find no record of its first reading in the printed minutes, nor in the original MS. at Albany].

The entry immediately following shows that the Executive Council were not at all satisfied with the Assembly—and advised its dissolution, or for the present a prorogation.

On the 22d the Council ordered the bill read a third time and it was assented to by the Governor and Council, with this amendment; That in the last sheet between the lines 3d & 4th be inserted (and presented to the Governor to be approved and Collated).

The bill with amendment was then sent to the representatives to desire their consent thereunto. The Gov.'s haste was so great, that he instructed the messenger to tell the Representatives to de-

spatch the business before them, time being precious and a charge growing upon the Country.

They replied that they had no business before them, that they waited his Excellency's pleasure and that they would immediately despatch this present bill with amendment.

This they accordingly did and on the same day in the P. M. meeting of the Council, the Clerk of the Council acquainted that body that the Representatives had refused to amend the bill. They considered the amendment, but could not agree thereunto, but prayed that it might pass without that amendment, having in the drawing of the bill, had a due regard to that pious intent of settling a Ministry, for the benefit of the people.

The Gov. forthwith summoned the House to attend in the Council Chamber—where he informed them that he had passed the Revenue Bill and the Ministry Act; reproved them for their stubbornness in the matter of the Revenue—and proceeded to prorogue them in the words following:

"There is also a Bill for settling a Ministry
"in this City and some other Countyes of the
"Government; in that very thing you have
"shown a great deal of stiffnesse. You take up-
"on you as if you were dictators. I sent down to
"you one amendment of three or four words in
"that Bill, which tho' very immateriall yet was
"positively denyed. I must tell you it seems very
"unmannerly; there never was an amendment
"yet desired by the Council board but what was
"rejected; it is the sign of a stubborn ill temper
"and this have also passed. But

"Gentlemen

"I must take leave to tell you if you seem to
"understand by these words (calling the Minis-
"ter) that none can serve without your collation

"or Establishment, you are far mistaken; for I
"have the power of Collating or suspending any
"Minister in my Government by their Maties
"Lres Patents; and whilst I stay in the Goverun-
"ment, I will take care that neither heresy, se-
"dition, schism, nor rebellion be preached
"amongst you, nor vice and profanity encour-
"aged. It is my endeavour to lead a virtuous
"and pious life amongst you and to give a good
"Example. I wish you all to doe the same. You
"ought to consider that you have but a third
"share in the legislative power of the Gov-
"ernment and ought not to take all upon you
"nor be so peremptory; you ought to let the
"Council have a share; they are in the nature of
"the House of Lords or Upper house; but you
"seem to take the whole power in your own
"hands and sett up for every thing. You have
"sitt a long time to little purpose and have been
"a great charge to the Countrey; tenn shillings
"a day is a large allowance and you punctually
"exact it. You have been always forward
"enough to pull down the ffees of other minis-
"ters in the Government. Why did you not
"think it expedient to correct your own to a
"moderate allowance?

"Gentl. I shall say noe more at present but
"that you with draw to your private affairs in
"the Countrey. I doe prorogue you to the 10th
"of January next and you are hereby prorogued
"to the 10th of January next ensueing."

The passage of the bill, however, was a source of some satisfaction to the church party, incomplete as it was and not by any means adequate to their hopes. Gov. Fletcher to the Committee of Trade, 9th Oct. 1693, says "I have gott them
"to settle a fund for a Ministry in the City of
"New York and three more Countys which

" could never be obtained before, being a mixt " people and of different persuasions in religion." *Col. Hist.* iv. 57.

A letter of Colonel Morris to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 20th February, 1711, gives something of the interior history of this Act. He states that James Graham, who was Speaker of the Assembly in 1693, drew the bill and " prescribed a Method of In- " duction and so managed it that it would not do " well for the Dissenters and but lamely for the " Church tho' twould do with the help of the " Governor and that was all: but 'twas the most " that could be got at that time for had more been " attempted the Assembly had seen through the " artifice the most of them being Dissenters and " all had been lost."

There can be no doubt that it was the intention of the Assembly to provide for the maintenance of the Dissenting Clergy. Such had been the manifest tendency of the previous legislation on the subject. All the Assembly but one were Dissenters, and the Church of England was hardly known in the Province. " There was no " face of the Church of England here till about " the year 1693." The Act was very loosely worded, which as things stood then when it was made could not be avoided. The Dissenters could claim the benefit of it as well as Churchmen, and unless wrested from its true bearing it admitted a construction in their favor. Indeed they had good reason to claim that it was intended for them, and that they only had a right to it. In fact, it was arbitrarily and illegally wrested from its true bearing, and made to answer the purpose of the English Church party, which was a very small minority of the people who were affected by the operation of the law.

The Act of 1693 itself is a conclusive argu-

ment against the alleged establishment of the Church of England in the Province of New York. It was not established by any law of the Province, nor by the Ecclesiastical Law of England extending over the Province, which was thus excluded or modified by express law made by competent authority. The language of the Report of the Venerable Society in 1705 further illustrates this point. "The Protestant Religion is settled "here by Act of Assembly as Established in En- "gland, except in Suffolk County."

In a "*Letter from a Gentleman in New York "to his Friend in the Country,*" (published in 17—) referring to a petition to the Assembly, and a design to make Philipsburgh provide for an Episcopal Church, etc. the writer says—"the "ridiculous Pretence that the Church of En- "gland is Established in this Province, which "they know to be false, and have actually been "(sic) admitted to be so by establishing a Epis- "copal Church in the City of New York inde- "pendent of the Church of England, in which "the Assembly was most shamefully deluded "by their Artifices, as appears by the Votes of "the House, and for which they still take money "from all other Denominations, contrary to all "Equity and good Conscience, especially consid- "ering what enormous Estate they have of their "own, for which the best part of their title is "their possession." *Broadside in the Force Collection.*

An ACT for Settling a Ministry, and Raising a Maintenance for them, in the City of New-York, *County of* Richmond, Westchester, *and* Queen's-County.

Pass'd the 22d of September, 1693.

Preamble WHEREAS Profaneness and Licentiousness hath of late overspread this Province, for Want of a settled

Ministry throughout the same: To the End the same may be removed, and the Ordinances of GOD duly administred;

Protestant Ministers to be inducted, &c. to have Care of Souls in *New York*, &c.

I. Be it Enacted *by the Governor, and Council, and Representatives convened in General Assembly, and by the Authority of the same*, That in each of the respective Cities and Counties hereafter mentioned and expressed, there shall be called, inducted, and established, a good sufficient Protestant Minister, to officiate, and have the Care of Souls, within one Year next, and after the Publication hereof, *that is to say;* In the City of *New York*, one; in the County of *Richmond*, One; in the County of *Westchester*, Two; One to have the Care of *Westchester*, *Eastchester*, Yonkers, and the Manor of *Pelham;* the Other to have the Care of *Rye*, *Mamarenock*, and *Bedford;* in *Queen's* County, Two; One to have the Care of *Jamaica*, and the adjacent Towns and Farms; the Other to have the Care of *Hampstead*, and the next adjacent Towns and Farms.

The respective Sums to be raised for their Maintenance;
Cash to the Ministers of *New York*.
But to the Country Ministers Country Produce.

II. AND for their respective Encouragement, Be it further Enacted *by the Authority aforesaid*, That there shall be annually, and once in every Year, in every of the respective Cities and Counties aforesaid, assessed, levied, collected, and paid, for the Maintenance of each of their respective Ministers, the respective Sums hereafter mentioned, *that is to say;* For the City and County of *New-York*, *One Hundred Pounds;* for the two Precincts of *Westchester*, *One Hundred Pounds*, to each *Fifty Pounds*, to be paid in Country Pro-

duce, at Money Price; for the County of *Richmond*, *Forty Pounds*, in Country Produce, at Money Price; and for the two Precincts of *Queen's* County, *One Hundred and Twenty Pounds*, to each *Sixty Pounds*, in Country Produce, at Money Price.

The method of raising the maintenance.

III. AND for the more orderly Raising the respective Maintenances for the Ministers aforesaid, Be it further Enacted *by the Authority aforesaid*, That the respective Justices of every City and County aforesaid, or any Two of them, shall every Year issue out their Warrents to the Constables, to summons the Freeholders of every City, County, and Precinct aforesaid, together, on the second Tuesday of *January*, for the chusing of Ten Vestry-Men, and two Church-Wardens; and the said Justices and Vestry-Men, or major Part of them, are hereby impowered, within Ten Days after the said Day, or any Day after, as to them shall seem convenient, to lay a reasonable Tax on the said respective Cities, Counties, Parish, or Precincts for the Maintenance of the Minister and Poor of their respective Places; and if they shall neglect to issue their Warrants, so as the Election be not made that Day, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money of this Province: And in Case the said Freeholders duly summoned, as aforesaid, shall not appear, or appearing, do not chuse the said Ten Vestry-Men and two Church-Wardens, that then in their Default, the said Justices shall, within Ten Days after the said second Tuesday, or on any

Vestry-men and Church-Wardens to be chosen.

Who shall lay a tax,

Or forfeit £5 each.

If Church Wardens &c. are not chosen Justices to lay the Tax or

Day after, as to them shall seem convenient, lay the said reasonable Tax, on the said respective Places, for the respective Maintenances aforesaid; And if the said Justices and Vestry-Men, shall neglect their Duty herein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid.

Forfeit £5 each.

IV. And be it further Enacted *by the Authority aforesaid*, That such of the Justices and Vestry-Men, that shall not be present at the Time appointed, to make the said Taxes, and therefor be convicted, by a Certificate under the Hands of such as do appear, and have no sufficient Excuse for the same; shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid: And a Roll of the said Tax so made, shall be delivered into the Hands of the respective Constables of the said Cities, Counties, Parishes and Precincts, with a warrant signed by any two Justices of the Peace, impowering him or them to levy the said Tax; and upon Refusal, to distrain, and sell by publick Outcry, and pay the same into the Hand of the Church-Wardens, retaining to himself Twelve Pence per Pound, for levying thereof: And if any Person shall refuse to pay what he is so assessed, and the said Constables do strain for the same; all his Charges shall be paid him, with such further Allowance for his Pains, as the said Justices, or any of them, shall judge reasonable; And if the said Justice or Justices, shall neglect to issue the said Warrant, he or they respectively shall forfeit *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid; and if the said Constables, or any of them fail of their Duty herein,

Penalty for not appearing to lay tax £5.

Tax Roll to be delivered to the Constables to levy Taxes.

Penalty for refusing to pay Taxes.

And on Constables for neglect of Duty.

they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid. And the Church Wardens so chosen, shall undertake the said Office, and receive and keep a good Account of the Monies or Goods levied by Virtue of this Act, and the same issue by Order from the said Justices and Vestry-Men of the respective Cities, Counties, Precincts, and Parishes aforesaid, for the Purposes and Intents aforesaid, and not otherwise: And the Church-Wardens shall, as often as thereunto required, yield and give a just and true Account unto the Justices and Vestry-Men, of all their Receipts and Disbursements; And in Case the said Church-Wardens, or any of them, shall neglect their Duty therein, they shall respectively forfeit *Five Pounds*, current Money aforesaid, for every refusal.

Church Wardens to keep Accounts.

And Account to the Justices, &c.

Under Penalty of £5 each.

V. And be it further Enacted *by the Authority aforesaid*, That the said Church-Wardens, in their respective Precincts afore said, shall, by Warrant, as afore said, pay unto the respective Ministers, the Maintenance aforesaid, by four equal and quarterly Payments, under the Penalty and Forfeitures, of *Five Pounds* current Money aforesaid, for each Neglect, Refusal, or Default; the one Half of all which Forfeitures, shall be disposed of to the Use of the Poor, in the respective Precincts where the same doth arise, and the other Half to him or them that shall prosecute the same.

They to pay the Ministers quarterly.

VI. Always provided, and be it further Enacted *by the Authority aforesaid*, That all and every of the respective Ministers, that shall be settled in

the respective Cities, Counties, and Precincts aforesaid, shall be called to officiate in their respective Precincts, by the respective Vestry-Men, and Church-Wardens aforesaid. And, *Always Provided*, That all the former Agreements, made with Ministers throughout this Province, shall continue and remain in their full Force and Virtue; any Thing contained herein to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

Ministers to be called by the Vestry-Men, &c.

This Act not to affect former Agreements with Ministers

In accordance with the Act of Assembly, the Freeholders of the City of New York appeared at the City Hall on Tuesday the ninth of January, 1694, and proceeded by a majority of votes to elect their first Church Wardens and Vestrymen. Nicholas Bayard and John Kerfbyl, *Church Wardens*, and Robert Darkins, Robert Walters, William Jackson, Jeremiah Tothill, John Crooke, John Spratt, Isaac Van Flack, Mathew Clarkson, Isaac D'Riemer and Johannes DePeyster, *Vestrymen*. All which was duly performed in the presence of James Graham and William Merritt, Justices of the Peace.

The Board however displayed no very great zeal in the discharge of their duties. Two or three ineffectual meetings of the Justices and Vestrymen took place, and on the 29th of January, the meeting was "adjourned till Monday "next att nine of the Clock to appear at the ring "of the Bell upon the penalty in the act, &c. "provided." On that day, the 5th February, 1694, upon reading the act, they unanimously agreed that a tax of One Hundred Pounds should be "assessed, levyed, collected and paid by all "and every ye Inhabitants and Residenters within

"this City and County for y^e^ Maintenance of a "Good sufficient Protestant Minister according "to the directions in the s^d^ Act." They further provided for the preparation of the necessary estimate and tax-roll to be prepared and returned to the Clerk of the Vestry by the first day of March, and that a tax should also be made for the relief of the poor who were fit objects of charity, of whom a list was to be made.

On the same day, a meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen was held and adjourned till the following Monday "att nine of the Clock "att y^e^ first ring of the Bell." Of this adjourned meeting, February 12th, 1694, the following is the record: all the members being present:

"Upon reading an Act of Gen^l^ Assembly en- "tituled an Act for settling a Ministry and "raising a Maintenance for them in the City of "New York, &^c^. itt was proposed to this board "what Perswasion the person should be of by "them to be called to have the Care of Souls and "Officiate in the office of Minister of this Citty, "by Majority of Votes itt is the opinion of y^e^ "board that a Dissenting Minister be called to "officiate and have the Care of Souls for this "Citty as aforesaid."

At this stage of the proceedings, the then resident Chaplain of the Forces, Mr. John Miller, endeavoured to secure the benefit of the living established by the act, but without success.

On the 15th. February, 1693–4 His Excellency did acquaint the Council that Mr. John Miller, Chaplain to the two companys of Granadeers did produce to his Excellency a Lycense from the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London for him to discharge the office of a Chaplain in New Yorke in America and by virtue thereof demanded induction into the living latèly Established by

Act of Assembly for the maintenance of a Prot estant Minister in the City of New Yorke, and others in some other Countyes within this Province His Excellency demanded the opinion of this board whether the said John Miller be by that lycense or faculty entituled to this living. The Council *nemine contradicente* are of opinion that the said John Miller is not thereby entituled to that living. *Council Minutes: VII.* 54.

On the first day of March, according to adjournment, the Justices & Vestrymen met and "ye Committee appointed for ye bringing a Role "and Estimate of all ye Real & personal Estates "of & every ye Inhabitants & Residents within "this City, &c. doe desire further time for ye Ef- "fecting the same." Whereupon, it was ordered that the same "be brought in by Thursday next "nine o' clock." They met on the 8th March, accordingly, and again adjourned for three weeks. But no record appears of a meeting at that time, and at the next meeting recorded (October 10th, 1694) nothing appears to have been done. On the 3d November, a meeting was held, when "the Mayor acquainted them the reason of his "calling them together was to inform them that "there was an Act of Assembly requiring them "with the Justices to Lay a Reasonable Tax "for ye Maintenance of a Minister & the poor "of this Citty whereupon itt was Objected by "several of the vestrymen that the time of Call- "ing of the Minister being Relapsed itt was not "Convenient to Raise a Tax att this time, upon "consideration whereof the Mayor did put the "Question whether they would Pursuant to the "said Act Raise a tax for ye Maintenance of the "Minister and the poor. Carried by the Vestry- "men Nemine Contra Dicente in the negative."

On the 7th. of January, 1695, the last day of their term of office—they came together again and "The Mayor again put the Question to this "board whether they would Raise a Tax For y^e^ "Maintenance of y^e^ Minister & y^e^ poor pursuant "to y^e^ Act of Gen^ll^ Assembly in that Case Pro- "vided.

"Itt is y^e^ opinion of the whole Board (the "Mayor excepted) that they Cannot Raise the "Money till a Minister be Called, upon w^ch^ the "Mayor publickly Protests against y^e^ Opinion of "y^e^ Justices & Vestrymen & says he is ready to "comply with & execute with what is required "in the s^d^ Act."

Charles Lodwick was at this time Mayor.

The second election under the Act took place on the 8th of January, 1695. Johannes Kip and Jacobus Cortlandt were elected *Church Wardens*, and Philip French, Theunis D:Key, Robert Sinclair, Jeremiah Tothill, Brandt Schuyler, Robert Darkins, Johannes DePeyster, Isaac DeRiemer, William Jackson, and John Spratt, *Vestrymen.* There was no change favorable to the views of the English Church party—the board continuing to be as "Dutch and dissenting" as before.

One of the first effects of the new election was to excite the wrath of Governor Fletcher, whose zeal was great in the interests of the English Church Establishment; and the records of the Council betray its effects. On the 10 January, 1695, His Excellency did acquaint the Council that there is an open contempt seems to be thrown upon an Act of Assembly for the establishing a ministry, &^c^, by the inhabitants of this city in choosing such for church Wardens and Vestrymen as either refuse or neglect to put the Act in execution and desired their opinion what is proper for the remedy thereof.

It is the opinion of the board nemine contradicente that persons offending against the said Act ought to be prosecuted according to the form thereof at their Maties charge and that the Receiver General may advance money out of the Revenue for that purpose. *Council Minutes*: *VII.* 113.

The new board met on the 19th day of January, 1695, at the call of the Mayor, who informed them of their election and its due return by the justices and thereupon withdrew. The board then agreed to meet on the next Saturday, 26th January, at eight o'clock in the morning, "in "order For the Calling of a Minister pursuant "to the directions of Act of Gen[ll] Assembly in "that Case made and Provided." This they accordingly did, and the following is a copy of the entry on their record of the proceedings: all the members being present.

"Pursuant to an Act of Gen[ll] Assembly, En- "tituled An Act For the settling a Ministry & "raising a Mainteuance for them, &[c], the Church "Wardens and Vestrymen above named have "this day mett & nemine Contra Dicente Called "Mr. William Vezey* to officiate in the same "place according to the directions in the said "Act contained."

This official record of his call to officiate and have the care of souls under the Act of 1693 is the earliest notice of William Vesey in connection with the church in New York, where he was afterwards so well known and distinguished as Minister of the City of New York, Rector of Trinity Church and Commissary of the Bishop

---

* Mr. Vesey's Christian name seems not to have been familiar at the time of his appointment. A blank was left for it in the original entry, which was afterwards filled in.

of London. The later portions of his career are measurably familiar to the students of our early history, but the interesting particulars of his first appearance and the singular circumstances attending his call to the ministry in New York and the establishment of Trinity Church, have hitherto been among the "hidden things" of our historic past.

William Vesey (or Veazie, as the name was more generally spelt in New-England) was born in Braintree, in the Colony of Massachusetts, in 1674. His family was probably of English origin and had been at that time long established in Braintree.

Mr. Vesey graduated at Harvard College in 1693. We have no particulars of his preparation and early training, or the circumstances under which he determined to devote himself to the ministry. In later years some of the Veseys of Braintree appear as Church Wardens, Vestrymen, &c. of the Church there in correspondence with the Venerable Society in England, and a letter from William Vesey and several others, from Braintree, September 1, 1710, contains the following passage—"Mr. Vesey, Minister of the "Church of New York when he was a youth can "say that he with his parents and many more "were communicants of the Church of Engiand "and that in their family at Braintree divine ser-"vice was daily read." *Dr. Hawks's MSS.* His father was an avowed Jacobite, and one of Bellomont's letters in 1699 to the Lords of Trade was accompanied with a copy of the indictment for "uttering desperate words against his Majesty," upon which he says that Vesey was "tryd, con-"vict and sentenced to stand in the Pillory.' The Court Records at Boston show that "Wil-"liam Veazey of Braintree was presented and

"held to bail for £500—having said that K. "James was his lawful prince and that he did "not know how this King came to y^e^ Crowne "and that the Crowne belonged to heirs by suc- "cession." This was in October, 1696. *Records*: 1686—1700 *p.* 75. Bellomont wished to have the Reverend Mr. Vesey displaced and spared no pains in enforcing upon the authorities in England the "ill principles of the father" as probably shared by the son; and in the heated party contests of that period, the latter appears to have been either too much or too little of a politician to avoid their violence.

But whatever may have been the earliest influences upon his mind from his family associations and connections, there was littleor no opportunity and still less encouragement for any man to seek advancement in the way of the Church of England. The atmosphere of Massachusetts was very unfavorable, and the machinery of education was entirely controlled by men who were of all things most hostile to Episcopacy. The list of graduates of Harvard College prior to 1700 must furnish a very brief list of men who were at any time connected with the Episcopal church.

Mr. Rapelye says, in his Sketch of Mr. Vesey, communicated for *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*, that he pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel, Boston. No authority is given, and the statement can hardly be true, for Dr. Myles was absent in England from July 1692 to July 1696—that is, for more than a year before Mr. Vesey graduated until after he is known to have exercised the functions of the Ministry (in 1695) upon Long Island.

A more consistent account of his education is

given in a remarkable letter, written about 1714, and printed in the *Documentary History III.* 264. This account states that "he had received "his education in Harvard College under that "rigid Independent Increase Mather and was "sent from thence by him to confirm the minds "of those who had removed for their conveni- "ence from New England to this Province, for "Mr. Mather having advice that there was a "Minister of the Established church come over "in quality of Chaplain of the forces, and fear- "ing that the Common Prayer and the hated "Ceremonies of our Church might gain ground, "he spared no pains or care to spread the warm- "est of his emissaries through this Province." This account of his training is confirmed by Chief Justice Atwood who, in a Memorial to the Lords of Trade, refers to him as "bred a dissen- "ter"; (*Col. Hist.* V. 104) and Gov. Hunter who states that "he was formerly an Independent "Minister in New England." (*Ibid.* 311).

Mr. Vesey was undoubtedly engaged in the work of the ministry in the Province of New York, as early as some time in the year 1694. He must have been a popular preacher, and in his occasional visits to the city of New York, he gave such satisfactory evidence of his ability in his public ministrations—as paved the way to his subsequent settlement there. Humphreys says of him in connection with the Church establishment in N. Y. "Mr. Vesey was then in "the Place, but not in holy Orders; a gentleman "highly approved of and beloved by every one."

It is certain that Mr. Vesey preached at Hempstead to the congregation there, mostly Dissenters from the Church of England, but some Dutch, about 1695. *Miller: p.* 11. The church at Hempstead was in a somewhat unsettled con-

dition, and its historian says there are "no au-
"thentic accounts of a settled ministry in this
"town for a great number of years." *Prime*:
282. The Rev. Mr. Thomas, who was sent thither as a Missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts in 1704, wrote home in 1709, "'tho the Place had
"been settled above 60 years before his coming,
"and the People had some sort of dissenting
"Ministers; yet for above 55 years, the Sacra-
"ment had never been administered there; the
"oldest there could not remember to have seen
"or heard of its being celebrated." *Humphreys*:
223.

But whatever conclusion might be reached from all these circumstances taken by themselves —there can be no doubt whatever that at this time, in New York, he was selected and called as a dissenting clergyman—there being a full attendance of the Wardens and Vestrymen and the vote *nemine contradicente*. Six of the ten vestrymen were of the board in the previous year (12 Feb. 1694) when they declared it to be their opinion that a Dissenting Minister should be called—and the wardens were both Dutch.

Whether this action of the Board was hastened or stimulated by the threats of prosecution from the Governor and Council, we cannot decide. But it was followed not long afterwards by further proceedings which show that the Church Wardens and Vestrymen were disposed to fortify their position and maintain their right to call a dissenting minister, in spite of such formidable opposition.

On the 12 April, 1695, A petition of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen for the City of New York was read in the Assembly, and upon consideration thereof, it was declared, that "it is

"the opinion of this House, that the Vestrymen "and Church Wardens have power to call a dis- "senting Protestant Minister, and that he is to "be paid and maintained according as the Act "directs." On the 13th April, 1695, the Gov. called the attention of the Council to these proceedings. "His Excell did show the Council a "Petiçon which was given in to the Assembly "by the Church Wardens and the Resolution of "the Assembly thereupon signed by the Speaker; "which is: That by virtue of the Act for set- "tling a Ministry, they have power to call a dis- "senting minister from the Church of England, "and compell all persons to contribute towards "his maintenance, pursuant to said Act." *Council Minutes*: 76. The Council were of opinion "that there is no good to be expected from this "Assembly" and advised a prorogation. *Ibid.* The Governor was not slow to follow their advice,—and upon the prorogation which followed the same day, he said to the Representatives,

"Gentlemen,

"You have proceeded to give your opinion or "interpretation of that Act of Assembly which "provides for a Ministry in this city and two "other Counties, upon a petiçon presented unto "you, and you say, that the Church Wardens "and Vestrymen may proceed, by that Act, to "call a protestant minister dissenting from the "Church of England and raise the money for his "maintenance. Not to tell you that there is no "Protestant Church admits of such officers as "Church Wardens and Vestrymen but the Church "of England. It is out of your province to take "upon you to explain an Act which you did not "make; the laws are to be interpreted by the "Judges."

Smith says of the petition above mentioned

that it was " a petition of *five* churchwardens and " vestrymen " &c. *p.* 117. Upon what authority does not appear. This is not material ,as there can be no doubt that a large majority of the existing board were of the same opinion. Probably " five " was a error of the press for " the," as those who are familiar with the handwriting of the historian and the facility of error in proof reading will readily understand. Dr. Berrian copied the statement from Smith.

In 1695, one of the Long Island towns attempted to obtain legislative relief. A Bill for exempting Newtown, in Queen's County, " out of " the Pains, Penalties, Forfeitures and Demands " in the Act of 1693, was presented, read a first time and ordered a second reading on the 3d of April, 1695. It was read a second time and committed on the next day. On the 5th, the report of the Committee, about the Minister of Newtown was brought in and read, approved and ordered to be engrossed with its Amendments. On the 9th, it was read the third time and passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Governor and Council for their assent. This however, it failed to receive—the session being somewhat sharply terminated a few days later.*

---

* There is an interesting reference to Newtown in the proposal of the Bishop of London to send Chaplains to New York, November 18, 1689. " It is hnmbly proposed to yo^{r} Lordship " that two Ministers of the Church of England be sent to New " York in America with free passage thither and a competent " allowance for the space of two years out of the Revenue of " that place and instructions given to his Ma^{ties} governour to " settle a sufficient number of acres (as a Glebe) not yet dis- " posed of in the parishes where they are to officiate. *New- " town in Long Island and a parish in Sopus having ear- " nestly desired to have Ministers sent them.* An ingenious " schoolmaster in the City of New York is of great use and im- " portance." P. R. O. Am. & West Indies.

But although called as a dissenter, by a dissenting vestry in 1695, Mr. Vesey does not appear to have been settled at this time. Nearly two years elapsed before the matter was adjusted, and still a third went by before he became the actual incumbent of the living provided for the Minister of the City of New York and assigned to the resident Rector of Trinity Church. No further action was taken by the dissenting Church Wardens and Vestrymen, who appear to have been discouraged, if not intimidated by the peremptory action of the Governor against their sympathetic Assembly, and at the next election a new set of men appear in office, who were evidently in the interest of that party, if indeed they were not themselves "the Mannagers of the "Affaires of the Church of England in the Citty "of New-York."* It was at this time that the Dutch Church were favored with a liberal charter from Governor Fletcher. That Church had long desired to obtain an act of incorporation, and had moved in the matter before, without success. The original petition of the Minister, Elders and Deacons (or what remains of it) is in the *Colonial MSS.*, xl., 121. The order in Council of 9th. January, 1696, is endorsed on the petition. The Charter is dated May 11, 1696. For his condescension in this matter, Governor Fletcher accepted a considerable present of plate. *Col. Hist.* IV. 463. It was found expedient, if not necessary to obtain a confirmation of this Charter —which was accomplished by an act of assembly 12 December, 1753, confirmed by the King, 25 February, 1755.

* Humphreys states, in his *History of the Venerable Society*, referring to the Ministry Act of 1693, that "it was some time "before there was a Vestry composed of men of such principles, "as would choose a Church of England minister. About the "year 1697, there was such a Vestry."

On the 14th January, 1696, Col. Stephen Van Cortlandt and William Pinhorne were elected *Churchwardens* and Capt. Ebenezer Wilson, Capt. Lawrence Reade, Capt. William Morris, Mr. Samuel Burte, Mr. James Evetts, Mr. John Crooke, Mr. Giles Gaudineau, Mr. John Van Cortlandt, Mr. Dirck Vanderburgh and Mr. Nathaniel Marston, *Vestrymen*. At the meeting of Justices and Vestrymen, on the 22d January, 1696, they unanimously agreed to levy and collect a tax "for y^e^ maintenance of a good sufficient "Protestant Minister," in accordance with the act of 1693. As provision had already been made for raising one hundred pounds for the maintenance of the poor, by virtue of another act of the General Assembly,* no poor tax was levied by this board for the year 1696. A committee was charged with the duty of going through all the Wards of the City and making "an Estimate "of the Estates of all and every the Inhabitants "and Residenters within the said Citty, and make "a Role thereof, and return the same to y^e^ Clerke "of the Vestry, on or before the second Tuesday "of February" following. They were likewise to "Desire of the Church Wardens and Vestry-"men what sum of Money will be Needfull to be "Raised for y^e^ Year ensueing for y^e^ Purposes "aforesaid."

The Board then adjourned until the second Tuesday in February, but they do not appear to have met until Friday, the 21st February, 1696, when "by Majority of Votes" it was agreed that "the sum of One Hundred Pounds Current "Money of New-Yorke" should be raised for the Maintenance of the Minister for one year. The

* An Act to enable the City and County of New-York, to relieve the Poor, and defray their necessary and publick charge. Passed the 3d. of July, 1695.

estimates of the Committee of Assessment were brought in, examined and approved; and the Justices were ordered to issue warrants for the collection of the tax, in pursuance of which the Constables were to proceed, complete their work and make returns on or before the 25th day of April. The following is a copy of the assessment.

By Vertue of an Act of Gen^{ll} Assembly Entitled an Act for the Settling a Ministry & Raising a Maintenance for them in the Citty of New Yorke, &^{c}. wee have made an Assessment of y^{e} Estates Real and Personal of all & Every the Freeholders Inhabitants & Residenters within the said Citty for y^{e} Raiseing of one hundred pounds att y^{e} Rate of one halfe penny ℔ pound for y^{e} Mainteinance of a Minister for one year to Officiate & have y^{e} Care of Souls within the said Citty. Pursuant to the said Act. Viz't. February y^{e} 21st, 1695 [1696].

East Ward	8420	15	11	08
South Ward	16421	34	05	11
Dock Ward	12129	25	05	02½
West Ward	6172	12	17	02
North Ward	5353	11	03	
Bowry Precinct	2644	05	10	02
Harlem Precinct	929	01	18	08½

Will Merrett
Rob^{r} Darkins
James Evetts
Sam^{ll} Burte
Giles Gaudineau
Will Morris
Ebenezer Willson
Law^{R} Reade
John Crooke
Nathaniel Marston

As we have said before, the Church of England was little known in the Province at this time—its adherents being very few in number, principally those connected with the administration of the government. The English garrison had a Chaplain allowed upon the establishment. The old Church in the Fort continued to be used by the Dutch inhabitants for their service in the old way. After the Dutch service, the Chaplain read service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, to the Governor and the garrison in the same place. This was all the footing that the Church of England had in the Province prior to the Act of 1693. *Doc. Hist. III.* 265. Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 28th, 1682, says "We and the English inhabitants use the same "church. They perform their services at the "conclusion of ours, by reading the Common "Prayer. They have a clerk, but no minister, "except one who marries and baptizes in private "houses, but does not preach." *Murphy's Memoir of Selyns: p.* 94.

In 1693, Governor Fletcher finding the Old Church (King's Chapel) in the Fort "ready to "fall down to the danger of many lives thought it "convenient to pull it down." He had previously persuaded the Dutch Church to erect a new edifice for themselves out of the Fort, which they did in 1693. *Doc. Hist. III.* 265. Domine Selyns' letter to the Classis, 12th October, 1692, quoted by Mr. Murphy in his memoir of Selyns, p. 119, makes it 1692. "In this year of troubles, "there has been built, outside of the fort, a new "Dutch Church, of stone, and larger than the old "one." At the meeting of the Legislature, 12 Sept. the Governor addressed the Assembly on the subject and said "if you will give something

'towards the rebuilding of it, we will all join in "soe good a worke. If his Maty were not en- "gaged in an expensive warr, I should not doubt " to have orders to rebuild it at his own charge."

In October, 1694, the Governor, with advice of the Council, presented to the Assembly a letter from their Majesties on the subject with a request that they would provide for rebuilding the Chapel accordingly. The House very promptly furnished him with their opinion "that his Ex- "cellency send his Orders to the several Officers " in each respective County throughout the Prov- "ince, for a free Contribution," for the object proposed.

The Governor and Council responded (22 Oct.) that the message was not to entreat the advice of the Assembly in what manner his Excellency should proceed in effecting his Majesty's pleasure, but to know of the Assembly what they will contribute by establishing some fund for that purpose, "it being the opinion of the Board that "the most loyall and proper way for all their "Majesties subjects freely to contribute, is by "Act of Assembly." The Assembly concluded to provide for raising Six Hundred Pounds, of which Four Hundred and Fifty were to be employed for the rebuilding the Chapel.

Dirck Van Burg's petition to be paid for building the Chapel, etc. 14 March, 1696, is in *Doc. Hist. III.* 246.

In April, 1696, the Governor again recommended the subject to the attention of the Assembly, urging provision for the completion of the work. The Assembly declined to proceed until the Accounts and Debts of the Government were laid before them, but promised "upon the perfect "knowledge of the State of the Debts of the "Government, the building of the Chapel will be

"also then taken into consideration." From the statement of the joint Committee of the Council and Representatives, it appears that the sum of £450 had been paid "To the building "the Chapel."

But the efforts to promote the interests of the Church of England and to utilize the tax provided by the Ministry Act took another shape. It had already been settled that the Chaplain of the Forces was not entitled to the maintenance provided by the Act, and measures were now taken to organize a new English Church.

On the 19th March, 1696, ten members of the Church of England (some of whom were at this time Vestrymen of the City of New York) petitioned the Governor and Coucil for license to purchase a small piece of land without the north gate of the City of New York, between the King's Garden and the burying ground, on which to erect a Church for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England. Leave was granted and on the 23d July following they were further empowered to collect funds to carry on and finish the Church which they had begun to erect and build. *Doc. Hist. III.*, 247–48.

These are the earliest documents of the history of Trinity Church—the first formal tokens of the existence of the congregation which was the germ of that great Corporation since known as Trinity Church. The records of the Corporation do not preserve the proceedings of "the "Mannagers of the Affairs of the Church of "England in the City of New Yorke" prior to the 28th June, 1697—so that nothing is to be learned from that source concerning their history before the charter. Their petition for a grant of incorporation *and the maintenance pro-*

vided for the Minister by the Act of 1693 is extant among the Colonial Manuscripts at Albany (Vol. xli., 64,) though badly damaged by time. It is dated May 6, 1697, and printed in *Doc. Hist. III.*, 248. Their prayer was granted, and the Royal Charter of May 6, 1697 was duly drawn and executed under the great seal of the Province. It has been frequently reprinted, and its terms are familiar to all who have given any attention to the history of Trinity Church. The most extraordinary feature in it is the assignment of the benefit of the Ministry Act of 1693 to the Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church created by the Charter:

"And our Royal Pleasure is and we by these "presents do declare that the said Rector of the "said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protes- "tant Minister according to the true intent and "meaning of the said Act of Assembly made in "the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne entitled "an Act for the settling of a ministry, &c., and "as such We do further of our like speciall "grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion "give grant Ratifye endow appropriate and con- "firm unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trin- "ity Church within our said City of New Yorke "and his successors for ever the aforesaid yearly "maintainance of one hundred pounds directed by "the said Act of Assembly to be yearly laid as- "sessed and paid unto the said sufficient Protes- "tant minister for his yearly maintenance, to "have and to hold the said yearly maintenance "of one hundred pounds aforesaid unto him the "said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church "within our said City of New Yorke and his "Successors to the sole and only proper use ben- "efit and behoofe of him the said Rector of the "Parish of Trinity Church within our said City

" of New Yorke and his Successors forever. And
" We doe by these presents strictly charge re-
" quire and command the Church Wardens and
" Vestrymen yearly constituted elected and ap-
" pointed by the aforesaid Act of Assembly made
" as aforesaid that they faithfully truly and with-
" out fraud annually and once in every year for-
" ever levey assess and collect the said yearly
" maintenance of one hundred pounds current
" money aforesaid according to the rules directions
" and clauses in the said Act of Assembly men-
" tioned and under the pains and penaltyes there-
" in contained and that the said Church Wardens
" mentioned in the aforesaid Act of Assembly do
" annually in four quarterly payments pay the
" said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds
" leveyed assessed and collected as aforesaid unto
" the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church
" and to his successors for ever as of right they
" ought to do without any delay, lett, hindrance
" refusall disturbance or molestation whatsoever
" as they and every of them will answer the con-
" trary under the pains and penaltyes in the said
" Act of Assembly ordained. And We further
" declare that upon any neglect or refusall of the
" said Church Wardens and Vestrymen (appointed
" by the said Act) of their levying assessing col-
" lecting and paying the said yearly mainte-
" nance of one hundred pounds as aforesaid
" that it shall and may be lawfull for the said
" Rector or incumbent of the said Parish for
" the time being to prosecute the said Church
" Wardens and Vestrymen in an action of debt in
" any of the Courts of Record within our said
" province wherein no Essoine, protection or
" wager of law shall be allowed anything con-
" tained in the said Act to the contrary hereof
" in any wayes notwithstanding."

There can be no doubt that these provisions of the instrument were illegal, and probably the charter itself was altogether void. It was an arbitrary exercise of an assumed prerogative, which was absolutely in defiance of the laws of England as well as the Province, and could not have been maintained for an instant in the Courts, had it been brought to the test. Sensible of its worthlessness, those who profited by its provisions sought and obtained a legal act of incorporation, a few years afterwards, which was the true Charter of Trinity Church—the Act of Assembly of 1704. This act carries in itself the evidence that due legal incorporation had been previously wanting, and that Trinity Church was up to that time incapable of taking a legal title. Various fictions have been invented from time to time, in connection with the suits against the Church, by both parties; but they have little or no historical importance at this time.

Lord Cornbury's own account of the motive for the act of 1704 is explicit enough. Writing to the Lords of Trade, June 30th, 1704, a letter to accompany the recent acts of the Assembly, which he transmitted, he says:

"The reason for my ascenting to the first of "these Acts [An Act granting sundry priviledges "and powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of "the City of New Yorke, of the Communion "of the Church of England as by law estab-"lished,] is because the Rector and Vestry of "Trinity Church have a charter from Coll: "Fletcher, when he was Gov^r here, and they "have been told *that Charter is defective*, so they "applyed to me for one that might be more suf-"ficient; I told them *I did not perceive that by* "*my Commission I have any power to grant* "*Charters of incorporation*, and that I would not

" venture to do it without such a power, some
" time afterwards they came to me again, and
" desired I would give them leave to offer a Bill
" to the General Assembly to be passed into an
" Act for settling the Church, I told them I did
" consent to it, because by that means the Queen
" would have the matter fairly before her, and I
" most humbly intreat Your Lordpps favourable
" representation of that Act to Her Majesty that
" it may be confirmed." *Col. Hist. IV.* 1114.

On the 2d November, 1696, a meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the City of New York was held, all the members being present excepting Mr. Samuel Burte. At this meeting they made and recorded the following important proceeding:

" Wee ye Church Wardens & Vestry men
" Elected by Virtue of ye said Act having read a
" Certificate under the hands of the Reverend Mr
" Samuel Myles, Minister of ye Church of En-
" gland in Boston in New England, and Mr Gyles
" Dyer and Mr Benjamin Mountfort, Church
" Wardens of ye said Church of the Learning &
" Education, of the Pious, Sober, & Religious be-
" haviour and conversation of Mr William Veazy
" and of his often being a Communicant in the
" Receiving ye most holy Sacrament in the said
" Church, have called the said Mr William
" Veazy to officiate, and have ye care of Souls in
" this Citty of New Yorke. And ye said Mr Wil-
" liam Veazy being sent for, and acquainted with
" the Proceedings of this board, did return them
" his hearty thanks for their great favor & affec-
" tions shewd unto him, & did Assure them that
" he readily Accepted of their Call & would with
" all Convenient Expedition Repair to England,
" and Apply himselfe to the Bishop of London
" in Order to be Ordained according to the Lit-

"urgy of y^e^ Church of England, and would re-
"turn to his Church here by the first Convenient
"Opportunity."

This is the earliest record of Mr. Vesey's adhesion to the Church of England.* It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There were not wanting in his lifetime those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interest, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the Independents of New England: but a generous spirit cannot fail to sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged subsequent ministry.

Three days after he had accepted this *second* call to the Ministry of the City of New York, on the 5th November, 1696, the Justices and Vestrymen held another meeting, at which they adopted the following important resolution:

"Whereas there is Ninety Five Pounds in the
"hands of y^e^ Church Wardens, Raised by Vir-
"tue of an Act of Gen^ll^ Assembly for y^e^ Main-
"tainance of a Ministry; and Whereas M^r^. Wil-
"liam Veazy lately called to y^e^ Ministry of this
"Citty is not yet Ordained According to the
"Liturgy of the Church of England, but hath
"Assured the Church Wardens and Vestrymen

* Domine Selyns, in a letter to the Classis, 30th September 1696, mentions two English Churches as follows: "For the "two English churches in this city which have been formed, "since our new church was built,—one of our churches being "in the fort and the other in the city, and both of them very "neat, curious and all of stone,—there are two Episcopal Clergy-"men who by arrangement preach in our church after my "morning and evening service, and live with us in all friend-"ship." *Murphy's Memoir*, p. 126.

"that he will Repair to London with all Con-
"venient Expedition, and Apply himselfe to y^e^
"Bishop of London for his Ordination, and Re-
"turn hither by the first opportunity; where-
"upon itt is Considered by this Board, that such
"Parte of y^e^ said Money that lyes in the Church
"Wardens hands, & the s^d^ M^r^. William Veazy
"shall have Occasion for, be lent to him, for the
"Defraying his Charges in the said Voyage for
"y^e^ Procuring of his said Ordination, & y^t^ he
"give his bond for the same."

It is a significant fact which appears from the record that "Jacobus V. Cortlandt and "Brandt Schuyler, Esq's two of y^e^ Justices De-"scent from the said Order." The dissent however of these stubborn Dutchmen was of little importance, and at a subsequent meeting on the 9th of November, 1696, at which they were not present, it was duly

"Ordered, that the Justices and Vestrymen
"doe direct a Warrant to the Church Wardens
"for to pay to M^r^. William Veazy, (called to
"officiate as Minister of this Citty) the sum of
"Ninety five Pounds, Curr^t^ Money of New Yorke;
"itt being Money now in their hands Raised by
"virtue of an Act of Gen^ll^ Assembly for y^e^
"Maintenance of a Minister, and itt being to be
"lent to the said M^r^. William Veazy towards
"the Defraying his Expenses in his Voyage for
"England for y^e^ Procureing his Ordination ac-
"cording to y^e^ Liturgy of y^e^ Church of England
"and that he give Bond for the same."

The election of Churchwardens and Vestrymen for the year 1697 continued the power in the hands of the Church of England party, there being no change among the Vestrymen. Capt. Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting were elected Churchwardens, who not long after

were constituted and appointed by the Charter the first Churchwardens of the Corporation and Parish of Trinity Church. Seven of the ten vestrymen were also named among the first Vestrymen of Trinity Church.

There was no meeting of the board until the 18th of November, when after providing for a Poor tax of Two Hundred and fifty Pounds—the records show that

"The Mayor of ye Citty haveing proposed ye "Raising of One Hundred Pounds pursuant to ye "Act of Assembly for ye Maintenance of *a Min-* "*ister for Trinity Church, for this Citty*, for this "present year. It is ye opinion of ye Justices & "Vestrymen that they do not proceed to ye "levying of that summ till they hear of ye "Ministers Induction."

We have no particulars concerning Mr. Vesey's voyage or stay in England, excepting those of his official appointments. Merton College, Oxford, bestowed on him, by diploma, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, July 8th, 1697. The license of the Bishop of London to Mr. Vesey—"Gulielmo Vesey, Clerico . . . ad peragen- "dum Officium Parochi in Ecclesia de New York "in partibus Occidentalibus," etc., is dated on the 2d of August, 1697. *Original MS. Also N. Y. Wills: II.* 100–104. On the same day, in accordance with the Act of Uniformity, he subscribed the acknowledgement or declaration of his conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as by law established, in order to be admitted to the ministerial function in the City of New York. He was made a Deacon and Presbyter of the Church of England on the same day—August 2, 1697. The certificates of the Bishop of London are recorded in the *N. Y. Wills: II.* 100–104.

Returning to New York, he arrived in December, 1697. The Churchwardens and Vestrymen were speedily convened, and at their meeting on Friday, the 24th day of December, 1697, all the members being present, the following proceedings are recorded:

Citty of New Yorke } Att a meeting of ye Church Wardens and Vestrymen of ye said Citty on Fryday the 24th day of Decemr. 1697.

Present:

Church-Wardens:

Thomas Wenham,
Robert Lurting,

Vestry-Men:

Ebenezer Willson,
William Morris,
Nathaniel Marston,
James Evetts,
John Cortlandt,
John Crooke,
Samuel Burte,
Direck Vanderburgh,
Giles Gaudineau.

Mr. William Vezey being arrived here lately from London delivered to this Board two letters, from the Right Reverend father in God Henry Ld. Bishop of London wh contained as followeth (vizt):

Augt 10th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

Your choice was very welcome to me, and I hope I have Answered all that you Expected from me; for I doe Assure you itt has and ever shall be my Constant Care to Serve you to ye uttmost of my power, Neither shall any choice be more Acceptable to me than what you make

yr selves. I thank you with all my heart that you have Pitched upon a Person whom I take to bee soe Every way fitted for yr service. I pray God to Direct him in all the performances of his duty to ye Edification and Comfort of you all. And I pray you to be assured that Nothing shall be wanted on my parte to answer all that lies in my power to doe for you: that itt will be therefore your fault if any parte of my Service be deficient to ye best of my Ability. As to your Bells I will use my utmost Endeavour to procure them for you; though you cannot but know that the great Scarcity of Money here with us att Present will make itt Impossible to Accomplish such a Worke suddenly. In the meantime I should be glad to know whether you have considered what Defect you are able to make up of yourselves, and whether there are Carpenters with you skillful enough to hang them up, I pray God to reward you for your pious care you have already taken which shall want no Encouragement from the utmost care of

Gentn

Your most assured friend and faithfull Servant.

H : London.

To
The Vestry and Church Wardens
of the Church att New Yorke.

London, August 16th, 1697.

Gentlemen,

I doe most heartily thank you for your choice you have made of Mr. Vesey to be your Minister; for I take him to be a man every way capacitated to doe you Service by his Ministry, and therefore I have most gladly Conferr'd

holy orders upon him, and Now Recommend him back to your favorable Reception Praying to God that the Exercise of his function amongst you may powerfully work to the Salvation of every one of you, and of all that hear him. And I beseech you to believe that I am most sincerely purposed to omit no ocasion of doing you all the service that lyes in my way and power Nor can you oblige me more than laying your commands for that purpose, upon

Gentlemen
Your most assured Friend
and hearty Servant
H : London.

To the Gentlemen of New Yorke
The Church Wardens & Vestry of
the Church there established

The before Letters being read, and the great Character and Recommendation his Lordship is please to give of Mr William Vezey, the Board are of opinion that a fitter Person cannot be had to officiate, and have the care of Souls within this Citty than the said William Vezey: and therefore pursuant to the directions of an Act of Genl. Assembly of this province entituled An Act for the settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the Citty of New Yorke this Board doe unanimously call* the said Mr William Vezey to officiate and have the care of Souls within this City of New-Yorke & the said William Vezey personally came before this Board and informed them he was ready to execute the Function he was called to when he shall be Inducted into the same.

---

* It will be observed that this was the *third* time Mr. Vezey was actually *called* under the Act of 1693, by the City Vestry.

Whereupon itt is ordered that this board doe forthwith present the sd William Vezey & Petition his Excellency for his Induction to the said Ministry accordingly.

Tho. Wenham,	Will: Morris,
Robt. Lurting,	Direck Vanderburgh,
Ebenezer Willson,	Samll Burtt,
James Evetts,	Johan: Cortlandt,
Giles Gaudineau,	Jno Crooke.
Nathll: Marston,	

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Capt. Genll & Governour in Chiefe of his Majty's Province of New Yorke, &c

The humble Petition of ye Church-Wardens and Vestry Men of ye Citty of New Yorke

Most humbly Sheweth :

That by an Act of Genll Assembly of this Province, entituled an Act for ye settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintainance for then in the Citty of New Yorke &c: Itt is Directed that there shall be Called, Inducted and Established a Good Sufficient Protestant Minister to Officiate and have ye Care of Souls within the said Citty, & whereas Mr William Vezey was formerly by us called to the said Benefice but could not be Inducted thereto for want of being ordained in Priest's Orders, which after a troublesome Voyage by him made to England, & great Charge to your Excellencies Petitioners he hath Obtained; and now returned hither, who wee have again called to ye said Ministry, and most humbly pray your Excellency will be most favorably Pleased with all Convenient Expedition to induct him to ye same, in Order he may Exercise his function accordingly.

William Morris,	Thomas Wenham,
John Cortlandt,	Robt. Lurting,
Direck Vanderburgh,	Ebenezer Willson,
Samuel Burte,	James Evetts,
Giles Gaudineau,	John Crooke,
	Nathaniel Marston.

Fletcher was not slow to move on his part, and on the next day (Christmas) 25 December, 1697, Mr. Vesey was duly inducted into his parish of Trinity Church. The documents are recorded in *N. Y. Wills No. 5. pp.* 262–3. We print them in the order observed by the clerk. It is said that the ceremony of induction was performed in the Dutch Church in Garden street, a fact to which these documents bear testimony in the names of two of the Dutch clergy as subscribing witnesses.

Benjaminus Fletcher Provinciae Novi Eboraci in America Strategus et Imperator ac Ejusdem Vice Thalassiarcha &c universis & Singulis Rectoribus Vicarijs Capellarijs Curatis Clericis & ministris quibuscunque in et per totam pdict Provinciam ubilibet constitutis ac etiam Thomae Wenham & Roberto Lurting Templi Trinitatis in Civitate Novi Eboraci pro hoc tempore Aedilibus Salutem Cum dilectum in Christo Gulielmum Vesey Clericum ad rectoriam sive Eccam proalem Novi Eboraci in America Templi Trinitatis in dict provincia jam vacantem praesentatum rectorem ejusdem rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis in et de eadem Institui Vobis conjunctim & divisim committo & firmiter injungendo mando quatenus eundum Gulielmum Vesey Clericum seu procuratorem suum legitimum ejus nomine &— in realem actualem & corporalem possessionem

ipsius rectoriae sive Eccae Proalis Novi Ebor pedict jurumque & pertinentium suor universor conferatis inducatis inducive faciatis & defendatis inductum et quid in praemissis feceritis me aut alium quendam judicem in hoc parte competentem quemcunque debito (cum ad id congrue fueritis requisiti) certificatis seu — certificet illo vestrum qui praesen hoc meum mandatum fuerit ————Dat sub sigillo praerogativo dict Provinciae 25° Die Decembris Anno Domini 1697° . David Jamison Jr D: Secry.

25° Decembris, 1697°

Virtute in fra scripti mandati in praesentia reverendi Domini Henrici Selyns Eccae Belgicae in Civitate Novi Eboraci ministri & reverendi Domini Johis Peter Nucella Verbi Dei ministri infra nominati Thomas Wenham & Robertus Lurting Trinitatis Templi infra dict Ædiles contulerunt & induxerunt infra dictum reverendum Gulielmum Vesey Clericum in Templum Trinitatis infra nominatum more & consuetudine solitis et in omnia juria, & pertinentia ejusdem 25° Decembris Anno Domini 1697° in Cujus rei testimonium praesentibus signavimus die & anno supra dictis Henricus Selyns minister Neo Eboracensis Belgicus Joannes Petrus Nucella Thomas Wenham Robert Lurting.

The new edifice for Trinity Church, to the erection of which both the French and Dutch churches contributed, (*Col. Hist. IV.* 463,) had been "built and covered" before the grant of the charter, but it was not completed and ready for occupation until the spring of 1698. It was first opened for public worship on Sunday, the 13th day of March, 1698. After the reading of

the morning and evening service, Mr. Vesey declared before his congregation, his unfeigned assent, and consent, to all, and everything contained in and prescribed in and by the book, entitled the Book of Common Prayer. He also read the certificate of the Bishop of London of his declaration of Conformity. *Certificate of Gov. Fletcher*, 25 *March*, 1698. *N. Y. Wills: II.* 100–104.

The youthful Rector's entry upon these important duties was also signalized by his marriage about this time. "A Lycense of marriage "was granted unto Mr. William Vesey, of the "one party, and Mrs. Mary Reade, of the other "party, the first of March, 1697–8." *Wills, No.* 5, 274. It is not difficult to credit the tradition, which declares that this wealthy widow, with her connections, had taken a deep interest in the concerns of Trinity Church; and on the day it was first opened for public worship, that she appeared in it as a bride.

V.

THE NEW ENGLAND SYNOD OF 1637.

The First General Synod in New England, that Assembly of all the elders of the Churches, which the General Court of the Massachusetts judged it necessary to call in 1637, and which condemned the whole brood of heresies hatched in Massachusetts in the first seven years of her colonial existence, has always been recognized as one of the most important themes of her historic past. Yet it is a curious fact that although the proceedings were most carefully reported at the time in short hand, and afterwards written out and prepared for pub-

lication by authority, the work was soon afterwards as carefully suppressed, and no recent traces of its existence appear. Perhaps among the hidden treasures of Societies and individuals round about Boston in New England, it may be still secreted from the eyes of the too curious inquirer—but it is certainly not to be found among the materials of history readily accessible to the student. In the examination of other topics of Massachusetts history, we have made occasional notes which are now brought together in the hope that they may help to stimulate inquiry into the subject and perhaps lead to the discovery of important materials concerning it, if not the manuscripts themselves to which we refer.

The following document gives us the history of the official report down to the year 1643—six years after the termination of the Synod:

"The humble Petition of Jo: Higginson
"Sheweth

"That wheras I was employed by ye Magistrates
"& Ministers of ye Bay At ye Synod held at
"Cambridge 1637; to take in short hand all
"yt then Passed, At ye end of it I was desired to
"draw vp a copie of all ye Materiall Passages,
"yt it might be printed for Publicke vse, wch so
"farre as it did belong to me, after ye Expence
"of much time & paines on my Part was done,
"And accordingly I Presented it to ye Court
"held at Boston in May 1639: where it was ac-
"cepted by you, & ordered yt ye Ministers
"should haue ye viewing of it; & then yt it
"should be printed & yt I should haue ye bene-
"fit of ye printing of it for my paines It
"being then conceiued it would amount to about
"a 100l: And so it was returned to me againe
"by ye Court with a charge of trust, yt I should

"so order it yt it should be faithfullie printed
"yt no damage might arise from it either to
"ye cause or ye Countrey, & then yt I should
"haue ye profit of it It being thus ordered by
"ye Court I left it for a time in ye hands of
"ye ministers who had ye viewing of it &c.
"After wch I had ye occasion to vnderstand
"ye Judgmt of diuers concerning ye publishing
"of it, & I found yt so some were for it, yet
"others were against it conceiuing it might pos-
"sibly be an occasion of further disputes & dif-
"ferences both in this Country and other parts of
"ye world; whervpon I found a Scruple arise
"in my spirit so yt I durst not haue a hand in
"ye publishing of it, fearing wt might be
"ye consequence of it; whervpon I resolued to
"deliuer it in to ye Court againe, wch accordingly
"I did At ye generall Court in May 1641:
"desiring of you then yt I might be free from
"yt charge or trust yt was committed to me by
"ye Court, & referring myselfe againe to your
"consideration wt I should haue for my Paines;
"It was then considered of mutually by ye Ma-
"gistrates & Ministers, & it was resolved (vpon
"ye grounds before mentioned) yt it should not
"be printed, Also I was Promised yt I should
"be considered by ye Court for my Paines when
"as ye treasury of ye Country should be better
"furnished then at yt time it was; The Consider-
"ation of ye former Passages hath encouraged me
"againe at this time to Present my selfe & the
"case before this honourable Court yt if it may
"be, I may receiue yt from you wch may be suit-
"able to ye nature of ye thing & to the bountie
"of this Court; I shall not propound anything
"to you, (Though I was offred 50l for it when
"I had libertie to sell it) neither w– I mention
"ye Length of time since ye thing was done;

"but shall leaue it to your seules to doe wt you "thinke fitt; And if ye treasurie of ye Coun- "trey be not such as may well be don now; My "humble request then is; yt it may Pleas "ye Court to Pass an act wherin a certaine "Summe may be nominated & promised, (as if it "be thought fitt ye Summe of 50l; I mention it "because I was offred so much; but yet I leaue "yt to ye Court) & yt it may be recorded in "ye Court booke, & yt also it may be delivered "to me vnder ye Governours & Deputies hands; "this I shall thankfullie accept of for yc Present, "& shall be willing to wait ye some longer time "vntill I may conveniently receiue yt wch shall "be resolved vpon by this honourable court,

"Thus Praying yt is onely wise to guide & "prosper all your Counsells & proceedings, I take "my leave & rest

"Your humble Servant:

"Guilford "Jo: Higginson

"Aug: 9:

"1643"

A note in the margin of one of Giles Firmin's tracts authorizes the belief that he assisted Higginson in his labors during the continuance of the Synod. Referring to "that eminent Servant "of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker in New England, "who I am sure hated and condemned your" [*Antinomian*] "doctrines, when he was Moder- "ator each day (Mr. Bulkley the other), of that "Synod, wherein Mrs. Hutchinson's Errors were "condemned," he says, "I was at the Synod, and "did with another young Man write for the El- "ders at Night."*

* This is probably the statement which Calamy intended to copy in his notice of Firmin's being at the Synod, and afterwards writing "in defence of the Ministers."

The Record of the Proceedings of the Synod in 1637, was in existence in 1743, when it was in the possession of one thoroughly qualified to appreciate its value—Dr. Charles Chauncey, Boston.—In that year, he published his famous work "of the "work which cost him the greatest pains, which "made the greatest clamour among the enthusiasts "of the day, and which continued to be accounted "one of the most powerful antidotes to the-"ological empiricism in the country,"—his *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England*. He introduces the work with the story of the early spread of Antinomianism, giving in his preface "an account of the Antinomians, "Familists, and Libertines, who infected these "Churches, above a hundred years ago," &c.

Quoting the *Short Story*, Doctor Chauncey vouches for the account given therein of the errors condemned by the Synod, in 1637, "having had "Opportunity to Compare it with an ancient "Manuscript Copy of the Proceedings of the Synod "in 1637." He quotes from the manuscript, among the reasons given for the meeting of the Synod, this one—that some "pretended such a NEW "LIGHT as condemned all the Churches, as in a "Way of *Damnation;* and the Difference to be "in *Fundamental* Points, even as wide as be-"tween *Heaven* and *Hell*. And hence it was "Conceived, that all the Churches should con-"sider of this Matter, that, if it were a Truth, it "should be universally embraced: but if it were "an Error or Heresy it might be universally sup-"pressed, so far as such a Meeting could reach." "*Manuscript Copy of the Proceedings of the Sy-"nod, in* 1637. *Page* 3.

Again referring to the condemnation of errors by that assembly, he quotes the following important statement: "All the Churches unanimously

"consented to the Condemnation of them, except "diverse of Boston, one or two at Charlestown, "one at Salem, one at Plymouth, one at Dux-"bury, two at Watertown: And although Mr. "Cotton set not down his Hand as the rest of "the *Elders* did; yet he thus expressed himself, "in Disrelish of them, *that some were blasphem-"ous and heretical, many erroneous and all in-"congruous. Manuscript copy, Page* 46."

There were above Eighty of these errors—and it was said "That as to some of these Errors, they "were not held by any." This was given to the Synod, as a reason why they should not be considered. To which, says Chauncey, the reply was in these words: "That they were indeed main-"tained in the Country, by some or other, either "by their *Speech*, or else by *Writing* under their "own hands, as the *Elders* were able to prove by "two or three or four Witnesses, and that in every "Particular." For this passage he says in a note "—This is a transcript from a *Manuscript* Copy I "have now by me, of the *Proceedings* of the "*Synod* in 1637; in which are some things, well "worthy of Notice; which have never yet seen "the Light."

Doctor Chauncey's principal notice of this manuscript treasure is in a note towards the close of this Preface wherein he says:

"The Disputes (preserved at large in writing) "between the *Synod* and Messieurs Cotton and "Wheelwright, upon some of the grand Points in "Agitation at that Day, would, perhaps, set some "of our present Controversies in a just Light. "But the inserting these would have taken up too "much Room. I should be glad if a Compleat "History of those Times might be wrote. I know "there are authentick Materials sufficient for such

"a purpose: and it might be of Advantage to "the present, as well as Times to come."

They would indeed have been "gratifying to "the Curious"—and corrective of errors in history, from that day to this, more numerous than those condemned by the Synod of 1637.

The official report was not the only account of these transactions. In the *Brief Apologie* which is printed as a part of the *Short Story*, etc., it is stated that "It is thought needful to make this "public Declaration of all the proceedings, with "the reasons and grounds thereof, so farre as "concerneth the clearing of the justice of the "Court. As for such passages as fell by occasion, "and are too large to be here inserted, such as "desire to know them, may receive satisfaction "from three or foure of *Boston* (being Mr. *Wheel-* "*wright* his speciali friends) who tooke all by "characters (we doubt not) will give a true report "thereof."

Hutchinson printed in the Appendix to his second volume, an account of the Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, at the Court of Newton, November, 1637, taken perhaps from the "ancient manu- "script of the trial at large" to which he refers in the former volume as "having been preserved;" but we find no special reference to the account of the proceedings of the Synod. Hutchinson refers to, and quotes the *Glass for the People of New England*, which strangly enough he attributes to Samuel Gorton.

Samuel Groom, in his *Glass for the People of New England*, printed in the year 1676, refers to one of the records of the doings of that Synod, from which he gives several interesting passages. He describes it to his readers, as "a Book in "Manuscript, in which is all their Proceedings." (*Pp.* 4, 6.) He quotes the Sermon of Wheel-

wright, as preached "at Boston," which "caused "the combustean in Church & Comanwealth,' and the extracts which he gives were, until very recently, the most considerable portions ever given to the public.

"At a Court in *Boston*, 1636, consisting of "*Henry Vane*, Governour, Twelve Magistrates, "Twelve Priests, and Thirty Three Deputies; "*John Wheelwright* was brought into the Court, "and accused for *preaching on the Fast Day* a* "*Heretical and Seditious Sermon, tending to* "*Mutiny and Disturbance. Wheelwright* bids "them *prove it by Scripture*, and so did the Gov- "ernour and many others, who saw their Wicked- "ness, and abhorred and declared against their "Proceedings; and many Members in the Court "gave in their Testimony, *That his Doctrine was* "*True, and according to God and Scriptures;* "and so said *John Cotton*, one of the Twelve "Judges of the Matter, and a chief man for "Learning, as they accounted him. But so mad "was the greatest part of them, that they would "proceed against *Wheelwright* and his Doctrine, "right or wrong; but he would not answer to "their ensnaring Questions, but still offered to "*prove his Doctrine by Scriptures.*

"And now to make good my word, I'le give "the Reader their own words in Court.

"And just let's hear *Collicott*, one of the Wit- "nesses against him in Court (*saith Collicott*) "*His Use in his Sermon was, to put a Differ-* "*ence between a Covenant of Works, and a Cov-* "*enant of Grace, and, I do conceive, that he did* "*drive against the things now in question. And* "*for the Light that is revealed by the Spirit, he*

* Groom says the Fast was kept on the 16th day of the 11th month, 1637. P. 4.

"*did plainly and punctually say, That in that*
"*Case there was nothing to be seen but the Glo-*
"*rious Light of the Spirit breaking in upon the*
"*Soul in an absolute Promise.* So far *Collicott.*

"But let's hear *Spencer*, that great Orator, and
"*New England* Church Member; may be hee'l
"be more to the purpose than his Brother *Colli-*
"*cott:* Well, come on, *Spencer;* let's hear what
"thou canst say against *John Wheelwright.*

"Spencer: Wheelwright *teaches, that the Knowl-*
"*edge of our Sanctification, as well as our Justi-*
"*fication, is only by our Faith in Christ; and*
"*that in the Covenant of Grace nothing is revealed*
"*but Jesus Christ, and his Righteousness freely*
"*given to the Soul, and the Knowledge of it*
"*comes by Faith: And this*, saith Spencer *is*
"*contrary to the Doctrine preacht in* New Eng-
"land; *for*, saith Spencer, *it is commonly taught*
"*in* New England, *That a man may prove his*
"*Justification by his Sanctification.* And so far,
"*Spencer* in his place.

"Well, hear *John Endicott: This is concluded*
"*a False Doctrine, because it is a Doctrine against*
"*all the Ministers of the Country.* But here,
"*John Endicott* told a Notorious Lye in Open
"Court; for sure he owned *John Cotton* was a
"Minister, and if so, hear what he declared in
"Open Court.

"Cotton: *Brother* Wheelwright's *Doctrine was*
"*according to God, in the Points Controverted,*
"*and wholely, and altogether; and nothing did I*
"*hear alledged against the Doctrine proved by*
"*the Word of God.* And so far, *John Cotton*,
"with much more, which he then spake to allay
"the heat of their Raging Spirits, but all would
"not do; for when they were so much Chal-
"lenged to prove by Scripture the Doctrine False,
"which *Wheelwright* had delivered, or else to

"acquit him, they found out another way to "bring their Wicked Ends to pass.

"And said *Spencer: The matter in hand is* "*not the Doctrine, whether it be true or false;* "*but the question is, Whether or not Mr.* Wheel- "wright *hath stirred up Mutiny in the Country,* "*and cast Aspersion upon the Ministers?* And "the Ministers, I mean eleven or twelve, were as "mad as who was madest, and as violent as any "in this matter;" etc. (*Pp.* 6—7.)

Groom elsewhere says of them, that they "Ar- "raigned him, Judged him and Condemned him, "but could not disprove his Doctrine, though he "and others often challenged both Priests and "Professors, from highest to lowest; and all or "most you had to say, was, *that it was contrary* "*to the rest of the Ministers, and therefore was* "*Seditious and Mutinous.*" (P. 5.)*

Besides the extracts which Groome gives from Wheelwright's Sermon, he quotes Wheelwright's Testimony against the Massachusetts Law of 1637, that none should be received to inhabit within that jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates. The passage which he gives (p. 14) is the conclusion of the *Briefe Answer*, etc.. which is printed in the *Hutchinson Papers*, p. 82–83. The curious reader will be repaid, if he will compare the two. Hutchinson attributes the authorship to Vane, but Groom's has the advantage of being much earlier testimony; and the internal evidence does not

* In 1647, Winslow said of "the proceedings of the *Massa-* "*chusetts* against Mr. *John Wheelwright*, etc., had it been the "will of God, I would those differences had never been: But "the maine difference was about a Petition by way of Re- "monstrance, which the Government tooke very offensive: "But Mr. Wheelwright and they are reconciled, hee having "given satisfaction," etc.—*Hypocrisy Unmasked, &c.*, 66.

repel but rather confirms it. Some of those who have seen Groom's tract, appear to have thought that he quoted this passage as a part of Wheelwright's sermon, which is not the case. *Compare Palfrey's N. E.*, i. 480 and 483 Notes; also 499 and Note: also Note of Publishing Committee, Massachusetts Historical Society, to Wheelwright's Sermon, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II. i. 216, and *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1866-67, *p.* 257.

Groom also preserves a memorial of Anne Hutchinson, of peculiar and touching interest. He quotes "her Letter, to one Mr. *Leveret*, as she "writ him in her Answer to his 1st, *Moneth*, 1643.

"It seems by that letter which *Leveret* sent to "*Ann Hutchinson*, he termed her *Haughty Jez-*"*ebel*, and said *she was a Railer and Reviler*, "and such like Terms and Names, and yet in the "same Letter asked her *what was become of the* "*Light, she once shined in, in their Parts?*

"And now *Ann Hutchinson*, to that Letter of "*Leveret's, If it were the True Light, in which* "*you say I once did shine in, I am sure the* "*Author thereof, and the Maintainer of it is* "*God, and it shall break forth more and more* "*unto the perfect Day, and when I was with* "*you it discovered the best Light in yourself to* "*be Darkness, as yourself confessed to me in* "*your own Parlour.*

"*And whereas you say I speak great swelling* "*words of Vanity, that Scripture is fulfilled in* "*your false Teachers, who follow the way of* Ba-"laam *and* Bozer, *and that Water holds out the* "*Spirit*, John 7, 38, 39.. *And Christ Jesus* "*came by this Water or Spirit*, Mat. 1, 18. *And* "*hereby we shall know the Spirit of Antichrist,* "*because he confesseth not that Jesus Christ is* "*come in the Flesh. And as to that in* Rev. 12,

"*which you say must be meant of Constantine,* "*and not of Christ, being brought forth in the* "Gentile *Church, then the Woman that brought* "*forth* Constantine *must be crowned with Twelve* "*Stars.*

"*But your Church standing in the City Order,* "*by your own Confession must needs be one of* "*those Cities of the Nations which the Lord hath* "*said should fall,* Rev. 16, 19. *And if what* "*you called Railing or Reviling, were a Truth* "*of God, acted by him through me, then you* "*have called the Spirit of God a Railer and Re-* "*viler.* And so far *Ann Hutchinson*, with much "more in her Answer to *Leveret's* Letter of the "1*st* Moneth 1643, after they had imprisoned "her, and banished her." *Pp.* 9, 10.

VI.

DUDLEY'S REQUEST TO WINTHROP ON HIS DEATH-BED.

Extracts *from Letters to the Hon.* Robert C. Winthrop, *President of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

I have (I think) found the authority for the account of Dudley's request to Winthrop on his death-bed. The reference made by your venerable and honored predecessor, the Editor of Winthrop's Journal, in his admirable note to the passage concerning the law against Anabaptistery, in 1644, on the intolerance of that period, enhances the interest with which the discovery may be regarded. Referring to Winthrop as undoubtedly opposed to such severities in his latter days, he quotes the story from *Hutchinson*, i. 142, "that "upon his death-bed, when Mr. Dudley pressed

"him to sign an order of banishment of an hetero-
"dox person, he refused, saying, 'I HAVE DONE
"'TOO MUCH OF THAT WORK ALREADY.'" Mr.
"Savage adds 'Gladly would I adduce, were it
"it in my power, the original authority for this
"golden commentary on the fatuitous legislation
"of the age. Hubbard and Mather are silent—
"perhaps from design."

The authority is George Bishop, in his *New England Judged*. After referring to the murder of Anne Hutchinson by the Indians—"the guilt "and weight of whose blood he lays upon the au-"thorities of New England"—he proceeds thus: p. 172.

"And its like Governor *John Wintrope*, "*Senior* (who was an honest man and had some "hand in this being drawn to it by *your* Priests) "was made sensible of it on his Death-bed, when "old *Dudly*, a man of Blood, and the rest of *you*, "sent to the said *John Wintrope* to set his hand "to a Paper for the Banishment of one *Matthews*, "a *Welch* Man, a Priest; which he refused, tell-"ing *them* he had had his hand too much in such "things already; but nothing of all this will work "on you," &c., &c.

The heterodox person referred to must have been the same Marmaduke Matthews, who appears first in the Records as the subject of a petition from the inhabitants of Hull that he might be encouraged to "goe to them and preach amongst "them" (4 May, 1649) not long after the death of Winthrop. The vote upon this petition "that "he should not retourne to Hull nor reside wth. "them" (9 May, 1649) shows that his "offences "to magistrates, elders and many brethren" may not improbably have been such as to challenge the discipline of the authorities at or near the time referred to by Bishop.

But I may very safely leave this part of the subject to you, for such examination as you may think proper. You will join with me in the expression of satisfaction with which I find even in the pages of the indignant old Quaker so just a tribute to the superiority of your great ancestor.

* * * *

I may add to the former note concerning the elder Winthrop, a memorandum and reference to the same authority, for another statement even more honorable to the younger. It is with respect to his attempt to save the lives of the unhappy Quakers who were executed in Boston, in 1659.

"Bestdes did not *John Wintrope* the *Governor* "of the Jurisdiction of Connecticote, labour with "*you*, that *ye* would not put *them* to Death? and "did *he* not say unto you, '*That he would beg it* "'*of you on his bare knees, that ye would not do* "'*it?*'" Bishop's *N. E. Judged:* p. 119.

Sir Thomas Temple's intercession which follows in the same page is a happy early association of your honored family names.

VII.

THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS OF 1648, AND JOSEPH HILLS.

A competent authority has declared that "the "Laws of a nation form the most instructive por-"tion of its history." This country certainly will furnish no exception; and our earlier Codes, although still too much neglected, have long been regarded with great interest by our historical scholars. The Statutes at large of all the original States ought long since to have been collected and reprinted, but with the exception of Vir-

ginia and South Carolina, nothing worthy has been done and comparatively little begun. Proposals have been issued for the publication of the earliest English Laws of New York, for the period prior to 1691, when the printed Laws begin; and Massachusetts is at last moving in the work of reproducing her own legislation of the Provincial period. She ought to go back to the beginning, and give us all the Laws of the Colonial period—under the first Charter.

No one of the later contributions to the History of Massachusetts possesses a higher interest for us than that in which the late Francis C. Gray made known the discovery of the Body of Liberties, the first Code adopted in the Bay. His vindication of the claims of Nathaniel Ward —the Simple Cobler of Agawam—as the Lawgiver of the Puritan Colony, is crowned by his reproduction of the Laws themselves, previously unknown to modern historians. The first edition of the Laws printed was in 1648—and no copy is publicly known to exist. If such a treasure there be still hidden away, he whose good fortune it shall be to find and produce it to the world, may well rejoice and be exceeding glad. We shall all rejoice and be glad with him!

The following document hitherto unpublished, relates to the history of the Laws of 1648. It is of the highest importance, for it shows how and by whom the work was accomplished, and may revive the memory of a faithful servant of the Commonwealth in her heroic age.

Petition of Joseph Hills.

"To the honred Generall Court holden

"at Boston 24 May, 1682.

"The petition of Joseph Hills, humbly shewing,

"How it hath pleased the righteous God to lay
"upon yr petitioner, a smart hand of visitation
"in the later part of his pilgrimage, totally be-
"reaving him of the sight of his eyes, for more
"than 4 yeares now past, (besides sundry yeares
"dimness before) by meanes whereof he hath
"been utterly uncapable of getting or saving
"anything towards his necessary subsistence,
"being now also more than 80 yeares of age be-
"sides other infirmities of body, which long have
"and are like to accompany him to his grave
"Your petitioner hath not been backward to his
"ability to be servicable with his person & estate
"to the comon wealth; for besides other ordinary
"services, it pleased ye court to make him one of
"the County Comitty to draw vp some orders
"necessary for ye Country, in which service I
"went over all ye Statutes in Pulton at large,
"collected such as I deemed just & necessary,
"drew them up in a small book in folio, and
"transmitted them according to order to the
"grand committy at boston (viz) Mr Winthrop,
"Mr Ward & others, after this it pleased the
"Court to appoint a Comitty to draw vp a body
"of lawes for the Colony (viz) Mr Winthrop &
"sundry others whereof your petitioner was
"one, to examine all ye Court records, from
"ye first to that time, which for avoyding of
"far greater charge it being the worke but of
"one fell to my lot to be active in, in which I
"went ouer ye 2 old bookes of recordes, ye book
"of libertyes, & ye great booke then & since in
"ye hands of Mr Rawson, which lawes I brought
"together under theyr proper heades Coppy wise
"with exact markes of examination & approba-
"tion of ye Court I was ordered to prepare for
"the presse, which I did, putting them together
"under theyr proper heades with ye dates of

"ye sundry lawes in the foot thereof, in the year "1648 in an alphabetical order, with an apt "table for ye more ready recourse to each law: "for which last service it pleased the court to "make me some allowance, which was to my "satisfaction, though short of the elaborate care, "paines and time spent therein these things I "should not have touched upon, but that there "are few of ye Court as now constituted, that "had ye opertunity to have ye cognizance thereof. "The premises considered my petition is that I "may be freed from all publick assessments, to "ye Country, County, (and secular thinges for "ye towne if it may be) for my infirme person "and little estate now left, during the remaining "part of my pilgrimage in this vale of teares. "So with my dayly prayers to god only wise "Just, & mercifull to guide you in all your mo- "mentous Concernments I crave leave to subscribe "myselfe,

"Your very humble servant

"Joseph Hills.

"In answer to this petition the Mags judge "meet that the petitioner bee freed from Coun- "try and County rates during his life their "Bn the Deputyes hereto Consenting

"P. Bulkeley p order

"June: 1: 82

"Consented to by the Dedputy

"William Torrey Cleric."

The following Order appears upon the records of the General Court of the eleventh of October, 1682

"In ansr to the petition of Mr Joseph Hills, "bereaved of his sight for seuerall yeares, &c.

The following order appears upon the records of the General Court of the eleventh of October, 1682—

"In ans^r to the petition of M^r Joseph Hills, "bereaved of his sight for seuerall yeares, &c. "the Court judgeth it meet to order, that the "petitioner be freed from Country and County "rates during his life." *Mass. Records:* v. 377.

The statements of the venerable petitioner are entirely in harmony with the Colony Records. The Middlesex Committee of which he became a member in October, 1645, was appointed in the preceding May, to consider of and draw up a body of laws which were to be presented at the next General Court. He was appointed at the request and in place of Captain Cooke. The subsequent committee for perfecting the laws was appointed in November, 1646. The notices of their progress in the work down to the time of publication leave no room for a doubt of the justice of his claim to have been principally "active "in the worke" until it was accomplished. A substantial recognition of his services appears in an order of Court (in May, 1649) by which he was "granted, as a gratuity, tenn pounds, to be "paid him out of the treasury, for his paines "about the printed lawes." John Wayte of Charlestown Village, had previously (in March, 1648) been allowed four pounds and eighteen shillings "for his writing one booke of the "lawes, & for finding paper for both bookes."

Mr. Hill was afterwards much employed in similar labors concerning the laws, some of which were printed in 1654, others in 1656 and 1657. In May, 1653, he presented a writing to the Court, containing the several particulars wherein the country had employed him about the Laws; on

perusal whereof the Court ordered an allowance to him of ten pounds, "in reference to what "service he hath done." It is not improbable that all his previous service may have been considered in this order upon the petition of 1653, as well as in the subsequent grant, in 1656, of five hundred acres of land near Northampton.

Captain Edward Johnson, in his muster-roll of New England Worthies, commemorated in the forty-fifth Chapter of his *Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*, mentions Joseph Hill, as "a man active for to bring "the Lawes of the Country in order."

Those who may be curious to learn more of the history of the man, will find the key to most that is valuable, in SAVAGE'S *Genealogical Dictionary*, and his references.

Mr. Hill's description of his method in the work is graphic, and his reference to the use of "all y^e^ Statutes in Pulton at large" shows that the Laws of England were not altogether repudiated, —a charge so often repeated by friends as well as enemies. Winslow too, defending himself in England against the charge of being a principal opposer of the *Lawes of England in New England*, refers to the use of the English Statutes in his *New England's Salamander Discovered*, page 24:

"I have beene so farre from sleighting the "Law of *England* as I have brought my owne "booke of the Statutes of *England* into our Court, "that so when wee have wanted a Law or Ordi- "nance wee might see what the Statutes provided "in that kind, and found a great readinesse in "our generall Court to take all helpe and benefit "thereby."

They used them just as far as they thought proper, to suit their circumstances and designs,

and defied them when they thought it was safe to do so.

VIII.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE FOREGOING ARTICLE —A NOTICE OF SOME REMARKS ON THE SAME SUBJECT BY A RECENT EDITOR OF JOHNSON'S *WONDER-WORKING PROVIDENCE*, ETC.

Since the preparation of the preceding article, we have received our copies of the new edition of the *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, a reprint of the original edition of 1654, with an historical Introduction and an Index, by the Librarian of the Boston Athenæum. That part of his Introduction which relates to the history of the Massachusetts Laws of 1648, is so extraordinary a specimen of critical operosity that it demands notice here, unless we give up Joseph Hills with his documents and admit the infallibility of the Editor and his plenary power to dispense with the truth of history. Captain Edward Johnson would "stare and gasp," if he could see what is claimed for him by his Editor, notwithstanding the modest way in which the latter contrasts his own with the vicious practice of some of the fraternity—"a class of "panegyrists" among whom he "has no ambi- "tion to be reckoned." He magnifies his fidelity to the cause of truth in history, in omitting "to claim for his Author every species of talent "and preeminence." He is "quite content to "state facts, even if they are homely." We may trust that he is more square with his professions in other parts of his work—but on the subject to

which we have referred, he is not at all content to state facts, handsome or homely, and wanders at his own sweet will through much inference and more conjecture to a most unwarrantable conclusion.

He devotes several pages of his Introduction to a sketch of the history of the Laws of 1648, in which his object is to mislead the reader into the belief that Captain Edward Johnson was the master spirit or principal working man of the Committees whose labors finally resulted in the volume of Laws printed in that year. Yet there is not one jot or tittle of evidence produced to justify the impression he labors through these eight or ten pages to make in the minds of his readers. It is all suggestion of what was possible or probable, or statements with a perhaps or qualification which shows that he doubted his own commentary.

He represents "the people" as very "impatient "under this brief exposition of their liberties" set forth in the Code of 1641, and "demanding "specific statutes" under the Code, which he regards as "analogous to the Bill of Rights." "For "another seven years, the process, already described, "of delay, of appointing Committees of the "Magistrates, who did nothing, and whose interest "was to do nothing, went on." Why did he not quote Mr. Gray instead of perverting the result of his labors? and give the real secret of the delay in publication, that "as the Royal cause "declined in England, and that of the Par- "liament prevailed, they were *less apprehen- "sive of the consequences of publishing laws "repugnant to those of England, in viola- "tion of their Charter from the King*; relying "on the favor and indulgence of the dominant "party there." 3 *M. H. S. Coll*, viii. 210. The

Editor might also have referred with advantage, to Mr. Trumbull's judicious note on this subject, in Lechford's *Plain Dealing*. (Edit. 1867, page 62.) Would it have disturbed his democratic theory and shorn the plumes of his popular champion? He also states that "it was only by the energy "and perseverance of a few representatives of the "people, of whom Captain Johnson was *perhaps* "the most efficient, that a body of laws was pre- "pared and ratified; and (*sic*) which was printed "in the year 1648." (*Page* ciii.) "Efficient pro- "gress was made in the work only when he was "on the Committee," (*Page* civ.) Johnson's own notice of the publication of the Laws has "an "air, seemingly, of personal triumph." (*Pages* civ. cv.) Who but the Editor could ever have detected it in these words—"In the year 1648, they were "printed, and now are to be seen of all men." —"In the name of the Prophet—figs!"

Why did the Editor omit his Author's much more significant character of Joseph Hill, as "a "man active for to bring the Lawes of the Coun- "try in order"? (*Page* 110.) Why did he thrust into a foot-note the record of Joseph Hill's compensation for the service which he claims Johnson to have performed—with the stingy admission that Hill "also was employed on the work" and the careless statement that nothing appears in the records to show that any other person was paid? And this foot-note is appended to a statement in the text that "it is highly probable that he [Johnson] "was wholly absorbed during the "Spring, Summer and Fall in revising and print- "ing the Massachusetts Laws of 1648"! The only fact produced to sustain this exalted probability is that he was excused by a vote of the Court in March, 1648, from further attendance, and another was appointed in his place as Deputy

shortly afterwards. The rest is all conjecture as to the "many urgent occasions" under the pressure of which he requested a dismissal. The language of the record does not, we confess, sound to our ears much like a retirement for the discharge of a work of such public concern as the printing these laws had then become. But we leave the province of conjecture to the Editor. Why did he not read on the opposite page of this March record, which he quotes, the following, which precedes the dismissal?

"The Co^rte doth desire that Mr. Rawson & Mr. "Hill compare y^e^ amendments of the bookes of "lawes passed, & make them as one; & one of "them to remain in y^e^ handes of y^e^ committee "for y^e^ speedy comitting of them to the presse, "& y^e^ oth^r^ to remain in y^e^ hands of y^e^ Secre- "tary, sealed up, till y^e^ next Co_te."—*Massachusetts Records*: ii. 230.

Or, if this escaped his notice, why did he not observe that every subsequent order concerning the laws, including the order for disposition of the edition, mentions Mr. Hill and does not mention Captain Johnson?* Especially the last, which gave a copy without price to every member of the Court, and the Auditor-general, and Mr. Joseph Hill.

It had been a sorry recompense to the principal laborer in this great work to omit him from the free list, and make him pay his "three shillings "the booke," like any common Puritan! A slight the more conspicuous, since he had lost his official title to a copy by a retirement from the General Court for the express purpose of seeing

* We follow the Editor in giving his Author the title (Captain) by which he has since been known, although he is called Lieutenant in the Records of the period to which we refer.

the volume through the press! Happily we are not obliged to accept the theory which would convict the Massachusetts General Court of 1648 of such base ingratitude!

Let us review the record a little further!

Captain Johnson's name appears first in this connection, on May the fourteenth, 1645, as one of the original members of the Middlesex Committee. *Massachusetts Records*, ii. 109; iii. 26. If he was so mighty an instrument for forwarding the work, why should his colleague, Captain Cooke, resign in order to secure the service of Joseph Hill? *Id.* ii. 128; iii. 46. His next appointment is as one of the Committee appointed in May, 1646, which the Editor says was "to "condense" what had been done. *Id.* ii. 157, iii. 75. We do not find anything about condensing in the order of Court to which he refers—nor does he furnish any authority for his statement that "the work went on, and the Committee "completed their labors." On the contrary, the next order, in November, 1646, shows conclusively that "the working man" had not been on that Committee. By this order, a new Committee, "for perfecting the lawes" was appointed, of which Mr. Hill was a member. *Id.* ii. 169; iii. 84. Their work was still incomplete in May, 1647, for which the Committee appear to have given a satisfactory reason; and they were continued with the addition of Captain Johnson to their number. *Id.* ii. 196. Here the Editor comes in with his favorite. "The work was completed "within the time specified, and was put to press "during the summer of 1648." Doubtless this is true, but does it appear that Captain Johnson continued in the service till these results were achieved? Not at all. In November, when the laws were "in a manner agreed upon," another

Committee with considerable work yet laid out before them, appear in charge, of which Mr. Hill is, but Captain Johnson is not, a member. *Id.* ii. 218. In March, 1648, as we have seen, just before he was dismissed from further attendance at Court, Mr. Rawson and Mr. Hill were charged with the comparison of "the amend-"ments of the bookes of laws passed" and to "make them as one." Of these two copies, one was to remain in the hands of the Committee for the speedy committing of them to the press, and the other to remain in the hands of the Secretary, sealed up, till the next Court. *Id.* ii. 230. The orders of the next Court reveal the fact that one copy was then in the hands of Mr. Hill, when both were sent for, for the use of the Court, in May, 1648. *Id.* ii. 239; iii. 125. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Auditor and Mr. Hill were directed "to examine the laws now at press and to see if "any material law be not put in or mentioned in "the table as being of force and to make supply "of them." *Id.* ii. 246; iii. 130. The next notice is the order for disposition of the copies in October, 1648, to which we have already referred. *Id.* ii, 262; iii., 144.

In view of all this, we are not surprised to find the Editor "hedging" a little towards the end of his course:—

"I do not claim that Captain Johnson was the "chief compiler of the Massachusetts Laws of "1648. In legal knowledge and literary train-"ing he was excelled by other persons who "were engaged with him in the work." Why hesitate at this circumstance? There is quite as much evidence that he was "chief com-"piler" as there is that he was reviser and editor —and more than there is for the statements which follow—"He was the man thoroughly in earnest

"that the laws should be written out and "printed. He understood the wants of the "people, and furnished the democratic impetus "which the enterprise needed." What does the Editor know about all this? What authority is there that Captain Edward Johnson was "a "democrat in the best [*or any*] sense of the term"? Democratic—indeed! Of all historical twaddle, deliver us from the prate about the democracy of the Massachusetts Puritans! John Cotton conscientiously uttered the true faith once delivered to those saints, when he said, "I DO NOT CON- "CEYVE THAT EVER GOD DID ORDEYNE DEMOC- "RACY AS A FITT GOVERNMENT EYTHER FOR "CHURCH OR COMMONWEALTH!" And old John Winthrop's democracy was summed up in that utterance of his to Hooker, of which his descendants are not as proud as they ought to be, when he said of the body of the people—"THE BEST "PART IS ALWAYS THE LEAST, AND OF THAT BEST "PART THE WISER PART IS ALWAYS THE LESSER."

It is a libel on Johnson to call him a democrat, in any sense. He was a Puritan, and his Editor's apology for his complicity in the tyrannical action of the Court respecting the Malden Church is simply ridiculous. He was perfectly consistent and faithful to the narrow limits of his strait profession.

The Editor continues the summary of his own fancies about his hero, in connection with the laws:

"His practical common sense was useful in "thwarting impracticable suggestions, and in "harmonizing conflicting opinions." This may be good guessing, but it is not history.

"There was also much work to be done in "transcribing, collating, and condensing the "various drafts submitted."

We have shown pretty conclusively who performed this work. Mr. Hill's own statement, sustained by the Records, reduces our Editor's argument for his author's probable service to a list of qualifications contingent, which might be assigned to either of his colleagues if not most of his contemporaries.

The Editor refers to Mr. Francis C. Gray's interesting paper on the Early Laws of Massachusetts, but only for the purpose of complaint, that he in no instance mentions Captain Johnson in connection with the Laws of 1648. As the Editor mentions nobody else in that connection, his own superior wisdom is brought into striking contrast with the ignorance which he attributes to Mr. Gray.

This fling at Mr. Gray is not at all in harmony with the estimate put upon this lamented gentleman and scholar by his associates. The late Mr. Prescott said—

"I think he was the most remarkable man I "ever knew for variety and fulness of informa-"tion, and a perfect command of it. He was a "walking Encyclopædia. I have seen many men "who had excellent memories, provided you "would let them turn to their libraries to get the "information you wanted; but, no matter on "what subject you spoke to him, his knowledge "was at his finger's ends and entirely at your "service."

Mr. Gray's work still holds its place as the best sketch of the history of the early laws of Massachusetts. If no better addition can be furnished than that we now have under consideration, we are tempted to say that what Mr. Gray did not know, on the subject, is not worth knowing.

We do not purpose to review the work, but a

hasty perusal of the volume suggests several topics to which the space occupied by the Editor's worthless sketch of the laws had been better devoted.

In his chronology of the author's labors, Introduction, page xiii, he might have added to what he quotes from his author (*P.* 36) concerning Seaborn Cotton, the other much more conclusive passage from page 166.

In his notices of the laws respecting a religious test for freemen (*Pp.* lxix., cxx.) he says "No "law of the Colony was more severely assailed "than this for the next third of a century by "malcontents here and in England; yet it was "not rescinded nor qualified till August, 1664." Why did he not find room to add that this illiberal law continued in force until the dissolution of the government? it being repealed, in appearance only, after the restoration of King Charles the Second. Had the Puritans been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an Act of Parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been in the first roll of grievances. But such were the requisites to qualify for church membership here, that the grievance was abundantly greater. *Hutchinson.* Was he afraid that he would be classed by the historical critic of the *Boston Transcript*, or some other equally courteous champion of the Puritans, with Hutchinson, Brodhead, and other "professed historians," not as "a tyro," but the utterer of "a deliberate and "malicious falsehood"?

The Editor vouchsafes some information respecting the Royal Commissioners of 1664, (*Pp.* cxxi and cxxviii.) In speaking of Maverick, why did he omit Johnson's character of the man, as the Puritans found him, in 1630 ("a man of a

" very loving and curteous behaviour, very ready " to entertaine strangers,") and give no hint of the persecution which he experienced for the next thirty years? This might explain his want of sympathy with the opinions and purposes of his oppressors—and the earnestness with which he prosecuted his scheme for overthrowing their authority in the Colony. Why not make use of the discoveries of the historian of East Boston, and give a more intelligent account both of the origin and end of Maverick? He was the son of the first Minister of the Church in Dorchester, whom he preceded into the wilderness; and he found a more congenial place of residence in his old age in New York. The Editor might have added a confirmation of the first statement by quoting from his author's "meeter" to "the Reverend, and godly Mr. *Maveruck*." (*P.* 42.)

" MAVERUCK thou must put period to thy dayes,
" *In Wilderness thy kindred thee provoke*
" *To come*, but Christ doth thee for high ends Raise."

The Editor is pleased to accord to Nicolls, the chief Commissioner, "some ability and discre- "tion," but seems to be ignorant that he was Governor of New York, where he had already settled the new frame of Government, *before* May, 1665, when he and his colleagues "open- "ed their budget of instructions and com- "plaints" in Boston, and were confronted by the "wise and skillful diplomacy" of Captain Edward Johnson and others not particularly mentioned by his Editor.

In discussing the Preamble to the Body of Liberties, the Editor rises with the imperial theme to the following height:—

"This sublime declaration, standing at the "head of the first Code of Laws in New Eng-

"land, was the production of no common in-
"tellect. It has the movement and the dig-
"nity of a mind like John Milton's or Alger-
"non Sidney's; and its theory of Government
"was far in advance of the age. A bold
"avowal of the rights of man, and a plea for
"popular freedom, it contains the germ of the
"memorable Declaration of July 4, 1776.

This is the original Declaration of 1641:—

"The free fruition of such liberties, immuni-
"ties, and privileges as humanity, civility and
"Christianity call for, as due to every man, in
"his place and proportion, without impeach-
"ment and infringement, hath ever been, and
"ever will be, the tranquility and stability, of
"churches and commonwealths; and the de-
"nial or deprival thereof, the disturbance, if
"not the ruin of both."

Where, we take leave to inquire, did the editor get the hint for his lofty flight on this subject? While we ask for information, we venture to quote a passage from the *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*, which may at least suggest a commentary on the Preamble as well as the "swelling prologue."

"*The first statute establishing slavery in*
"*America is to be found in the famous* CODE
"OF FUNDAMENTALS, OR BODY OF LIBERTIES
"OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLONY IN NEW ENG-
"LAND—*the first Code of Laws of that Colony,*
"*adopted in December*, 1641. . . . . The
"preamble to the Body of Liberties itself might
"have been construed into some vague recogni-
"tion of rights in individual members of society
"superior to legislative power—although it was
"promulgated by the possessors of the most arbi-
"trary authority in the then actual holders of legis-

"lative and executive power. *Compare* HURD's "*Law of Freedom and Bondage:* i. 198. Had they "only learned to reason as some of the modern "writers of Massachusetts History have done on "this subject, the poor Indians and Negroes of "that day might have compelled additional "legislation if they could not vindicate their "right to freedom in the General Court. For the "first Article of the Declaration of Rights, in "1780, is only a new edition of 'the glittering "'and sounding generalities,' which prefaced the "Body of Liberties in 1641. Under the latter, "*human slavery existed for nearly a century and "a half without serious challenge*" *in Massachusetts.*

There is no mistaking the "place and propor-"tion" of Negroes and Indians and their children under that code! nor the measure of civil and religious liberty meted out in the model of the Simple Cobler of Agawam! At that time, Massachusetts had not learned the alphabet of Freedom—nor dreamed of throwing away the horn-books of ancient tyranny in Church or State. Her founders may have "builded better than "they knew;" but neither Bishop nor King in Old England ever wielded crosier or sceptre with more arbitrary and intolerant sway than the Magistrates and Elders of that little oligarchy in the West.

The Editor finds an explanation of "the emi-"nent ability which characterized the State "papers of the American Revolution," in the fact that their authors had been trained in the "school of statesmanship" established and maintained "for a century and a half," by "the Founders of "the Massachusetts Colony and their descendants," whom he regards as "probably the best trained "and most skilled diplomatists of their time."

One of their most signal early triumphs was in that "critical period" when Captain Edward Johnson appeared as "a leader" against the "com-"bined ingenuity and malice of the restored "English hierarchy, assailing the charter and "liberties of the Colony."*

Why pause here? When his hand was in, why did not the Editor complete his claim and specifications, for the universal Patent rights of Massachusetts? Why not trace the origin of Yankee Doodle to the New England Version of the Psalms of David, or some of Captain Johnson's "meeter"? the Canon of Woman's Rights to the Synod which condemned Anne Hutchinson's heresies in 1637? the "Rights of Man by Tom "Paine" to the elder Winthrop? and the doctrine of universal suffrage to the close corporation which ruled the New England Theocracy.

Seriously, we confess our belief that modern radicalism owes just about as much to the first Code of Massachusetts, as that Code was in-

* It may be presumptuous, but we venture the opinion that Samuel Maverick did not find any great eagerness among "the restored hierarchy" to punish or humiliate that distant colony of non-conformists, when he went to England at the Restoration, to seek the redress of grievances. It took him several years to arouse the sluggish interest of the ministry in the affairs of New England, notwithstanding their natural antipathy to Puritans everywhere; and it would puzzle a sharper critic than our Editor to point out the evidences of hierarchical ingenuity and malice, in the Commission and Instructions with which the Royal Agents came into New England, in 1664–5. That their mission was nearly fruitless in Massachusetts was due quite as much to the indifference or neglect of the Royal Government as the "artful "dodging" which excites the admiration of Captain Johnson's Editor. Maverick has never had his true place in the history of Massachusetts. Great injustice has pursued his memory, and his hereditary enemies have studiously depreciated his intellectual as well as moral character. Yet he has a higher claim to be regarded as a champion of civil and religious liberty than any one of his orthodox Puritan contemporaries.

debted to the labors of Captain Edward Johnson, or its history to his recent Editor, or the great State Papers of the Revolution to that primitive school of diplomacy of which his Editor would have us believe that he was "an old master," if not the chief founder.

When will all this dilettanteism about the early history of Massachusetts cease, and the modern paint and whitewash vanish from the stern and rugged lineaments of her justly honored Past? It is a disgrace to the culture of the nineteenth century that a period of history for which the documents are so abundant should be so persistently misrepresented as the first century of New England. Their children dishonor the memory of the Puritan Fathers by their cowardly truckling to modern prejudices, covering and concealing the truth—without which, History is worthless.

IX.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS IN NEW ENGLAND.

Bunyan's Pilgrim was printed in 1678—the second part in 1684. In the prefatory verses with which he introduces the latter, he says of the first—

"Tis in *New England* under such advance,
"Receives there so much loving countenance,
"As to be trimmed, new cloth'd and deck't with Gems
"That it may show its features and its limbs,
"Yet more, so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
"That of him thousands daily sing and talk."

In Michael Perry's Inventory, printed by Mr. Whitmore in the Appendix to his John Dunton's

Letters from New England, (*Page* 315) is the following item,

"3 Pilgrim's Progress with cuts 0 3 0."

We have met with no other reference to any copies of this early illustrated production of the American press—of which a specimen would rank next to the first edition of the New England Primer.

X.

COTTON MATHER'S OPINION OF HOMER.

"The Song of *Deborah* is a Rare *Poem*, and "one that it seems the Wicked *Homer* was no "more a Stranger to, than he was to our *Eigh-*"*teenth Psalm*, when he formed the cursed *Iliad*, "with which he brought in upon the World, a "Flood of Debaucheries and Impieties." *Accom-*"*plished Singer*, *p* 4.

Such a prejudice as this may account for the curious fact, noted by the historian of Harvard College, in his remarks concerning the library, of which the first Catalogue was printed in 1723—that although the most considerable of the Greek and Latin classics were to be found in the collection, there was no copy of Homer, in the original, among them! Cotton Mather, however, was not afraid to quote "Mr." Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

XI.

DOCTOR CHAUNCY'S CHARACTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COURT: 1747.

The "*laudatores temporis acti*"—those who believe that "all times when old are good"—may

justly be confronted with the following significant passage, which indicates an earlier phase of legislative malefaction than those generally known. The modern assemblies of politicians at Harrisburg and Albany, seeing such "footprints on the "sands of time" may "take heart again," and regard themselves as neither first nor last among the "forlorn" brethren who make shipwreck among the bars and quicksands of public opinion.

The famous Doctor Chauncy said of that great and honorable body—the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1747—

"If I wanted to initiate and instruct a person "into all kinds of iniquity and double dealing, "I would send him to our General Court." EMERSON'S *First Church:* 168.

XII.

"PROPHETIC VOICES ABOUT AMERICA."—IN THE MILLENIUM.

It has been the belief of many pious people in all the generations since the discovery of America, that this part of the world was to be the theatre of great events in the "last days,"—that in the Millennium state, soon to be introduced, America was clearly printed out in the Revelations of God, as the place where this glorious scene of things "will, probably, first begin." Jonathan Edwards in his day bestowed no little pains to prove this theory, in which he was a firm believer.

An earlier Puritan, whose name is in all the churches of New England, left a very emphatic record which will certainly show, how widely the authorities may differ, as perhaps it is not strange that they should, in matters of mere conjecture. His declaration was:

"I know that there is a Blessed Day to the "visible Church not far off: But it is the Judg- "ment of very learned Men, that, in the glorious "times promised to the Church on Earth, "AMERICA will be HELL. And although there "is a Number of the Elect of God to be born "here, I am verily afraid, that, in Process of "Time, NEW ENGLAND will be the wofullest "Place in all AMERICA; as some other Parts of "the World, once famous for Religion, are now "the dolefullest on Earth, perfect Pictures and "Emblems of *Hell*. When you see this little "*Academy* fallen to the ground,—then know it "is a terrible thing, which God is about to "bring upon this Land."

This prophetic passage was taken from a discourse of the venerable INCREASE MATHER, delivered in the College Hall, while he was President of Harvard College. Harvard Hall was totally destroyed by fire in 1764—but I suppose we may continue to regard the University as still keeping the "little Academy" from the fall which is to be the precursor of the "terrible thing."

The learned Joseph Mede was undoubtedly the principal authority on whose opinions Increase Mather rested with such confidence. He thought that the American hemisphere would escape the general conflagration at the last day, and that the people would not share in the blessings of Millennium. He regarded the inhabitants here as colonies or descendants from the Scythians (and therein a notable fulfilment of the prophecy about the enlargement of Japhet) and to be "the Gog "and Magog whom the devil will seduce to in- "vade the New Jerusalem, with an envious hope "to gain the angelical circumstances of the people "there." Compare the *Magnalia:* Book i. Chapter i.

Mede's speculations are in curious contrast with those lines of his contemporary, George Herbert, which aroused the jealousy of the authorities at Cambridge, when his Temple was sent to the press, in 1633. The Vice Chancellor refused to permit its publication unless they were erased.

> "Religion stands on tiptoe in our Land,
> "Ready to pass to the American Strand."

But he afterwards consented, hoping "that the "world would not take him to be an inspired "prophet."

Nor did all the wise and pious contemporaries of Increase Mather in New England, join in his endorsement of Mede's opinions, or his gloomy forebodings of the future of America. Samuel Sewall, whom we have elsewhere had occasion to celebrate as "the first Massachusetts abolitionist" —challenged the entire theory and its champions in a very learned and able disquisition, in which he "endeavoured to prove that *America's* "name is to be seen fairly recorded in the Scrip- "tures," and that 'the New World . . . . "so far from deserving the Nick names of *Gog* "and *Magog* . . . stands fair for being the "Seat of the Divine Metropolis."

To do this he fairly meets and answers the argument of the learned and pious Mr. Mede—reviewing his famous Chapter, "*De Gogo et* "*Magogo in Apocalypsi Conjectura.*" His vindication of America and especially New England rises into poetry towards the close—and none of us can refuse to sympathise with him as he "hopes "the Christian Reader will lend a favorable Ear "to his short Antiphony"—a much more cheerful prophecy than that of his great contemporary, Mather:

"As long as *Plum Island* shall faithfully keep

"the commanded Post; Notwithstanding all the "hectoring Words, and hard Blows of the proud "and boisterous Ocean; As long as any Salmon, "or Sturgeon shall swim in the streams of *Merri-* "*mack*; or any Perch, or Pickeril, in *Crane* "*Pond*; As long as the Sea Fowl shall know the "Time of their coming, and not neglect season- "ably to visit the Places of their Acquaintance; "As long as any Cattel shall be fed with the Grass "growing in the Medows, which do humbly bow "down themselves before *Turkie-Hill;* As long "as any Sheep shall walk upon *Old Town Hills*, "and shall from thence pleasantly look down "upon the River *Parker*, and the fruitfull *Mar-* "*ishes* lying beneath; As long as any free and "harmless Doves shall find a White Oak or other "Tree within the Township, to perch, or feed, "or build a careless Nest upon; and shall volun- "tarily present themselves to perform the office "of Gleaners after Barley-harvest; as long as "Nature shall not grow Old and dote; but shall "constantly remember to give the rows of Indian "Corn their education, by Pairs: So long shall "Christians be born there; and being first made "meet, shall from thence be Translated, to be "made partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints "in Light. Now, seeing the Inhabitants of "*Newbury* and of *New England*, upon the due "Observance of their Tenure, may expect that "their Rich and Gracious LORD will continue "and confirm them in the Possession of these in- "valuable Privileges: *Let us have Grace,* "*whereby we may serve GOD acceptably with* "*Reverence and Godly Fear. For our GOD* "*is a Consuming Fire. Heb.* 12. 28, 29."

XIII.

REV. NATHANIEL WARD—HIS MASSACHUSETTS ELECTION SERMON IN 1641, AND HIS SERMON BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1647. HIS REPLY TO GORTON IN 1647.

WINTHROP's *Journal* furnishes the only account of the Election Sermon preached by the *Simple Cobler*, in 1641, of which we have any knowledge. "Some of the freemen, without the consent of "the magistrates or governour, had chosen Mr. "Nathaniel Ward to preach at this court, pre- "tending that it was a part of their liberty. "The governour (whose right indeed it is, for till "the Court be assembled the freemen are but "private persons) would not strive about it, for "though it did not belong to them, yet if they "would have it, there was reason to yield it to "them. Yet they had no great reason to choose "him, though otherwise very able, seeing he had "cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was "now no minister by the received determination "of our churches. In his sermon he delivered "many useful things, but in a moral and politi- "cal discourse, grounding his propositions much "upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, "which sure is an errour, for if religion and the "word of God makes men wiser than their "neighbours, and these times have the advantage "of all that have gone before us in experience and "observation, it is probable that by all these "helps, we may better frame rules of govern- "ment for ourselves than to receive others upon "the bare authority of the wisdom, justice, &c., "of those heathen Commonwealths. Among "other things, he advised the people to keep all

"their magistrates in an equal rank, and not give "more honour or power to one than to another, "which is easier to advise than to prove, seeing "it is against the practice of Israel (where some "were rulers of thousands, and some but of tens) "and of all nations known or recorded. "Another advice he gave that magistrates should "not give private advice, and take knowledge of "any man's cause before it came to public hear- "ing. This was debated after in the general "Court, where some of the deputies moved to have "it ordered. But it was opposed by some of the "magistrates upon these reasons: 1. Because we "must then provide lawyers to direct men in "their causes. 2. The magistrates must not grant "out original process, as now they do, for to "what end are they betrusted with this, but that "they should take notice of the (cause of the) "action, that they might either divert the suit, if "the cause be unjust, or direct it in a right course, "if it be good. 3. By this occasion the magis- "trate hath opportunity to end many differences "in a friendly way, without charge to the parties, "or trouble to the court. 4. It prevents many "difficulties and tediousness to the court to under- "stand the cause aright (no advocate being al- "lowed, and the parties being not able, for the "most part to open the cause fully and clearly, "especially in public.) 5. It is allowed in crim- "inal causes, and why not in civil. 6. Whereas "it is objected that such magistrate is in danger "to be prejudiced, answer, if the thing be law- "ful and useful, it must not be laid aside for the "temptations which are incident to it, for in the "least duties men are exposed to great tempta- "tions." *History of New England:* ii., 35,36.

Mr. Savage very justly observes that "the advice "of the preacher was good, notwithstanding the

"above formidable array of arguments against "it." We could well exchange a good many scraps of theology, etc., of the time, even from the writings of Winthrop himself, for a copy of the "moral and political discourse" grounded on the Greek and Roman history with which the "some time pastor of Ipswich and still a preacher" instructed the Massachusetts General Court, edifying the representatives of the people, if not some of the magistrates. Such a commentary on the code of laws (of which he was also the author) adopted in the same year, would indeed be invaluable as disclosing the foundations of the civil and ecclesiastical polity which it established. Especially in view of the fact that those laws have directly or indirectly entered into, and powerfully influenced, the entire subsequent legislation of a majority of the United States.

Ward went to England in the winter of 1646–47. On the ninth of June, 1647, he was appointed to preach before the House of Commons, on the next day of public humiliation. Mr. Daniel Cawdrey, who had been appointed on the twenty-sixth of May, had just been excused. The other preacher for the day was Dr. Thomas Manton. Ward appears to have given as little satisfaction to the House of Commons, in England, in 1647, as he had, six years before, to the Magistrates in Massachusetts. Mr. Manton received the thanks of the House, and was requested to print his sermon, with the usual privilege, but no further notice of Mr. Ward appears upon the Journal of the House.

Rushworth refers to the various preachers upon the occasion—two before the Lords "and Mr. "Ward and Mr. Mainton (*sic*) before the Com- "mons, who had Thanks, and ordered to print "their Sermons, save only Mr. Ward, who gave "Offence." *Historical Collections:* vi. 596.

Fortunately, however, we are not left to conjecture as to the character of his discourse and the causes of offence. The sermon was printed and, although extremely rare, is still accessible.*

"A | Sermon | preached | before the Honourable
"House of | Commons | at their late Monethly
"Fast, being on | Wednesday, June 30, 1647. |
"By Nathaniel Ward, Minister of Gods Word,
" | London, | Printed by R. I. for Stephen
"Bowtell at the signe | of the Bible in Pope's-
"head Alley | 1647."

Stephen Bowtell the Bookseller, informs the Reader that he publishes this sermon, which by a special providence came into his hands without the knowledge or consent of the author. Indeed, the author, in a letter to some friends accompanying a copy of the Sermon, expressly desires that none may take a copy "but such as are wise, "and friends to me, and have no itch to publish "it." He found the chief "things which pleased "not," were his interest in the King and his criticism of the doings of the Army. It will not surprise any who are familiar with his other writings, that some of his phrases met with little favor. In his "perswading so much to lament the "King," he acknowledges that he "let fall one "redundant expression."

Respecting the exceptional usage he met with at the hands of the House, he says, "I trust I shall "not be grieved that I was not thanked or "ordered to print. I am not only above, but "averse to both. I have had more thankes then I "can tell what to do with, and many justifie "me I feare too much, and more importunity to

* The copy we use belongs to the very valuable library of S. L. M. Barlow, Esq., to whose kindness we are always indebted as often as he has the opportunity to show it.

"print it than I have or shall listen to, for I see "the nakednesse of it well enough, this I acknow- "ledge grieves me sadly, that comming a hard "Winter voyage over the vast Raging Seas* to "doe what service I could to my Country, in pre- "serving Truth and promoting Peace; I am ob- "structed so far as I am. I am not ignorant that "there are some troubled at my being here, and "watching an opportunity to weaken me and my "worke, which I have attended faithfully, meek- "ly and not without some successe, but I am "not altogether discouraged."

The Sermon is from *Ezekiel* xix, 14, and is replete with characteristic wit and wisdom. "When "a State hath brought itself to that passe that the "scepters of authority, and powers of Government "are wasted and weakened, it is a lamentation, and "shall bee for a lamentation. With the failure of "Dominion or Authority, all political order failes "—Religion failes—Justice failes—Strength failes "—Wealth failes. When good Government failes, "then the beauty and honour of a state failes— "Peace failes which is the soile of all felicity."

His application is in lamentation for the Royal Scepter—the King; the National Scepter, or the Parliament; and especially that "its constitution "is so Heterogeneous, dissimular and Contramixt" and its deficiencies in administration so apparent. His lamentation for the Martiall Scepter, or the Army, is very striking and emphatic; and he condemns them very strongly, as having begun so vast and strange an enterprise without warrant, doubtless referring especially to the seizure of the King. He continues the burden of his cry to the

* This passage confirms the opinion that Ward sailed from Massachusetts, with Winslow, in December, 1646.—*Winthrop*, ii., 167, note.

whole State and people, and prefaces his conclusions by saying, "I had thought to have spoken "somewhat of Ecclesiasticall and Domesticall "Scepters, and how weakned Scepters might be "restored to their strength, so far as belongs to a "Divine: But fearing that the State is at this "present in too violent and hot a Paroxisme to "take physick, and that it would cost more time "than can be allowed, I shall here conclude with "these few conclusions, which I take to be ever-"lasting truthes.

"I. That the highest honour, and weightiest "charge, God hath betrusted any of the sonnes "of men with, is publick authority.

"II. That no man can sinne a greater sinne "against God and Men, then to cast the honour "and power of authority in the dust: The sinne "against the Holy Ghost excepted.

"III. That besides the Mal-Administrations of "government by Magistrates themselves, there is "no readier way to prostitute it, then to suffer vile "men to blaspheme and spit in the face of au-"thority.

"IIII. That if Rulers once lay publick authori-"ty wast, they will find it the difficultest piece of "work that ever mortal men tooke in hands to "raise it up again to its due height, and true "strength."

His main point in all was that of his text—the want of "the Strong Rod, to be a Scepter to "rule;" and his main offence undoubtedly was in his favor towards the King. "Yet," said he, "if I "may believe myself, hot or cold, I am farre "from being a Malignant as any man that heard "me." Other interesting passages might be cited, which would illustrate the character and principles of the man, but we forbear—trusting to see the volume in a reprint, which it richly deserves.

Nearly a century after its appearance, it was brought forward again in the discussions which grew out of the publication of Neal's *History of the Puritans*. Dr. Zachary Grey, in his *Examination* of that work, answering a statement of Richard Baxter, refers to Ward's Sermon of 1647. Baxter had said that "in all the Fast-Sermons that "I have read for some years after the beginning "of the War, I have met with no Reflections "upon the Person of the King, but a Religious "observation of that Political Maxim, The King "can do no wrong." Dr. Grey proceeds to show that Baxter was wrong, by copious extracts from the Public Fast Sermons from 1640 to 1648, and challenges the production of more than one single instance in which there is such a regard for the King, as asserted by Mr. Baxter. He continues:

"There is but one Instance of this kind, that "I can find in the Sermons preached before "the two Houses; and that is of Mr. *Nathaniel* "*Ward*, who spoke favourably of the King, and "of bringing him back again to his Parliament, "in the following words: [Fast-Sermon before "the Commons, June 30, 1647. printed without "any Order of that House:] 'Let us lament and "'mourn for our Royal Sceptre, that he is "'weakened, and unfitted to rule; let us lament "'his personal Sorrows; Pity should be shewn "'to him that is in Affliction: let us lament that "'he is deprived of his Royal Consort, and "'Children, the Supports and Delights of Nature, "'the sweet Objects of Human Affection; "'deprived of his wonted Honour and Attend-"'ance, his Nobility and Compeers; deprived of "'his wonted menial Servants, and attended with "'military Guards, (unwelcome and ungrateful "'to him;) deprived of his wonted Liberty: these "'things must needs make him a *Man of*

"'*Sorrows;* however his Heart is supported, he "'cannot but look upon himself as a Man under "'God's *Black Rod*. If God would soften our "'Hearts, to lament him as we ought, it is probable "'he would soften his Heart to lament his "'Subjects as he ought.' They did not present "him with a piece of Plate as usual, (especially "where Treason and Rebellion were the main drift "of the Discourse) nor desire him to print his "Sermon, or return him Thanks *for the great* "*Pains he took*, according to Custom: a Favour "that I am confident was scarce ever refused to "any one before, in the Compass of seven Years; "as appears from a compleat Collection of the "Sermons before the two Houses, from *November* "1640, to *February* 1648, now in the publick "Library at *Cambridge*." GREY'S *Impartial Examination &c.*, 401–2.

Another spicy performance of this venerable Puritan belongs to the same year in which his *Simple Cobler* and the *Sermon before the Commons* were printed. Samuel Gorton's famous tract against the authorities of Massachusetts had been published not long before Ward arrived in England. In it Gorton accused Ward among those who had insidiously attempted to "get "occasion against them," when he was imprisoned with his followers by the Massachusetts authorities, in 1643.

"Old Mr. Ward, once Lecturer at St. Michael's, "in Cornhill, London, came to the prison window, "and called to him, one of our society, namely "Richard Carder, who had once lived near to-"gether in Essex. Mr. Ward seemed to be much "affected, being a man knows how to put himself "into passion, desired the said Richard, that if he "had done or said anything that he could with "good conscience renounce, he desired him to

"recant it, and he hoped the Court would be "very merciful; and saith he, it shall be no dispar- "agement unto you; for here is our reverend elder, "Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that public- "ly one year, that the next year he publicly repents "of, and shews himself very sorrowful for it to the "Congregation; so that (saith he) it will be no "disgrace for you to recant in such a case." *Simplicities Defence, etc.—Rhode Island Historical Collections* ii. 122. *note.*

"Old Mr. Ward's" notice is to be found in the rare tract published by Edward Winslow, in answer to Gorton's appeal to the public through the press—from the accusation and censure of "that Seven-Headed Church Government united "in New England." The entire tract is very able; but no portion of it could be more to the point—for Ward was in London and furnished it himself: Winslow says—

"In *pag.* 53, as he abuseth others, so Mr. "*Cotton* and Mr. *Ward*, in affirming that Mr. "*Ward* put himself into a passion, and stirred "up *Carder* to recant, &c., as being no discredit "to him, because Mr. *Cotton* ordinarily preached "that publiquely once a yeare, which the next "year he recants, &c. But Mr. *Ward* being in "Towne, a man well knowne and reputed, I "shewed him the Booke, and hee gave mee "thanks, and returned this answer to it *verbatim*: "Samuel Gorton *having made mee a Margent* "*note in the* 53 *page of his Booke, I hold myself* "*called to make this answer to it; I cannot call* "*to minde that ever I knew or spake with such a* "*man as* Richard Carder, *nor that ever I had any* "*speech with any prisoner at a window, nor* "*should I need it in* New-England, *where there* "*is liberty enough given for conference with prison-* "*ers in more free and convenient places. This*

"*I remember, that one* Robert Potter *who went*
"*in the same Ship with mee into* New England,
"*and expressing by the way so much honesty and*
"*godlinesse as gained my good opinion and affec-*
"*tions toward him: I hearing that hee was*
"*affected with* Samuel Gortons *blasphemous con-*
"*ceits and carriages, and therefore now impris-*
"*oned with him, I went to visit him, and having*
"*free speech with him in the open prison yard,*
"*who shedding many teares might happily move*
"*me to expresse my affection to him, which* Samuel
"Gorton *called passion: After some debate*
"*about his new opinions, I remember I used a*
"*speech to him to this effect: That hee should*
"*doe well and wisely to make such acknowledge-*
"*ment of his errours as his Conscience would*
"*permit; telling him that Mr.* Cotton *whom hee*
"*had so much reverenced in* Old England, *and*
"New, *had given a godly example in that kinde,*
"*by a publique acknowledgement upon a solemn*
"*Fast day with many teares; That in the time*
"*when errours were so stirring, God leaving him*
"*for a time, he fell into a spirituall slumber; and*
"*had it not been for the watchfulnesse of his breth-*
"*ren the Elders, &c., hee might have slept on; and*
"*blessed God very Cordially for awakening him,*
"*and was very thankefull to his Brethren, for their*
"*watchfulnesse over him, and faithfulnesse towards*
"*him: wherein hee honoured God not a little,*
"*and greatly rejoyced the hearts of his hearers;*
"*and therefore it would bee no shame for him to*
"*doe the like.*

"*Concerning Mr.* Cotton, *were I worthy, I*
"*would presume to speake that now of him,*
"*which I have said more then many times of him*
"*elswhere, That I hold him such an eminent*
" *Worthy of Christ, as very few others have at-*
"*tained unto him; and that I hold my selfe not*

"*worthy to wipe his slippers for matters of grace,*
"*learning and industry in the worke of God.*
"*For the Author* Samuel Gorton, *myself and*
"*others farre more judicious, take him to bee*
"*a man whose spirit is starke drunk with blas-*
"*phemies and insolencies, a corrupter of the*
"*Truth, and a disturber of the Peace where ever*
"*he comes: I intreat him to read* Titus I. 13,
"*with an humble heart, and that is the greatest*
"*harm I wish him.*" "N. W."

"Thus much" (adds Winslow) "of the "Answer and Testimony of that Reverend and "Grave Divine, wherein the Reader may see how "Mr. *Gorton* abuseth all men, by casting mire "and dirt in the faces of our best deserving In-"struments." *Hypocrisie Unmasked*: 76, 77.

XIV.

GILES FIRMIN AND HIS VARIOUS WRITINGS.*

Calamy's notices of Giles Firmin, in his *Account* of the Non-conformists (*Page* 295) and the *Continuation* (*Page* 458) furnish the principal source of information respecting his personal histoy. He received his education in that famous "nursery for the Puritans," the University of Cambridge, and with Dyer's *Mad Puritan* he could say

"In the house of Pure Emanuel
"I had my education."

Ackermann's *History of the University of Cambridge*, contains a brief sketch of his life.

"Giles Firmin, M. D. born in Suffolk 1617, "educated at this college [Emanuel] from whence

* These memoranda were chiefly intended for the use of Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston (whose liberal and conscientious fidelity to History makes it at once a pleasure and a duty to serve him) and at his suggestion and request are printed here.

"he repaired to New England, 'to enjoy,' as he "said, 'liberty of conscience,' and there practiced "as a physician, with great success. He after- "wards returned, entered into orders, and became "minister at Shalford, in Essex, whence he was "ejected by the Act of Uniformity: and resum- "ing his former occupation, continued to practice "it till his death at the age of 80, in 1697. He "was a considerable writer in the controver- "sial divinity of the day." *Ackermann:* ii. 254–5.

The *Serious Question Stated, &c.*, 4to. London, 1651, appears to have been his first publication. We have met with the title *A Sermon against the Quakers*: 4to. London. 1650—but this is probably an error in the date of a sermon afterwards published against that sect. The *Serious Question* is "that little Tract upon this question "[denying some Children Baptism] which the "uncivill carriage of some, in the Congregation, "when I had delt lovingly with them in private "before, forced me to print." *Separation Examined: Page* 44. He speaks elsewhere of this— "I would not baptize all in a Parish, though "I was affronted openly in the Church." *Brief Review: Page* 27.

The *Serious Question* was followed in the next year (1652) by *Separation Examined*, etc., a highly interesting tract. Most of his writings contain references to New England or his New England experiences, and occasionally throw a stray gleam of light into obscure points. In his Epistle Dedicatory to this tract, he says of the champions of Independency, "I have observed "few people that come to stand up for Inde- "pendency, but they grow very tender (as they "call it) towards corrupt Opinions, if not "leavened with them themselves, not allowing a

"Minister to speak against them." And again he says (*Page* 19) "There was a report when "I was in *New England*, that a Carpenter re-bap- "tized Mr. *Williams*, and then he did re-baptize "the rest: I do not stand to defend the thing "whether it be true or no, but it was like enogh "to be true, and sutable to the other opinions "and practises of that wilde generation. Where "are we now?" We have here also the authority of Firmin for the statement that he heard Norton say—"That if the Congregational Govern- "ment did make the government of the Church "democratical, he would give up the cause." (*Page* 100.) This may be taken as conclusive testimony that Norton could not approve that the ruling of Church affairs should be by popular suffrage, or that the People should govern their officers. Yet he doubtless believed in the Congregational way to the extent that the People had just rights and privileges that were not to be infringed. But he held that it was the Pastor's or Elder's part to rule, and the People's part to obey, and could well say, as he did to Firmin, upon another occasion, "'Tis no wonder Independents "be unruly." A just biography of John Norton would throw new light upon the history of his times in Massachusetts. The Quakers whom he had persecuted recorded his death as a judgment of God: history will one day acknowledge that he was a victim to the pious duplicity of the people among whom he ministered.

Firmin also discussed that knotty question, how to deal with heretical Congregations, after excommunication, etc., they still going on in their heresies, and says: "Indeed our *New England* Divines "will teache us a way how to helpe it, viz: if a "Synod hath declared against an Hereticall Con- "gregation, being pertinacious, and so hath pro-

"ceeded to non-communion, they will call in the "Civil power to help * * * And thus it was "in *New England;* when the Synod (at which the "Civill power was present, as to hear, so to keep "Civill order) had confuted and condemned the "Errors and Heresies, and so was broke up, then a "Generall Court was called, which soon suppress-"ed these Heresies and brought the Churches to "peace again." (*Page* 105.)

In 1652, Daniel Cawdrey, whom Calamy notes as "a Considerable Man, of eminent learning, "and a noted Member of the Assembly of Divines," wrote against Firmin, *A Sober Answer to a Serious Question respecting Baptism.* 4to. London. Firmin responded in *A Sober Reply to the Sober Answer of Mr. Cawdrey; also the Question of Mr. Hooker cleared with a Postscript to Mr. Blake.* 4to. London. 1653, which appears to have ended the controversy.

In 1656, came forth his onslaught on the Quakers: *Stablishing against Shaking*: or a Discovery of the Prince of Darknesse (scarcely) transformed into an Angel of Light, powerfully now working in the deluded people called Quakers: with a sober Answer to their railings against Ministers for receiving maintenance from their people. Being the substance of one Sermon preached Feb. 17. 1655, at Shalford, in Essex. By Giles Firmin (Pastour of the Church there) upon occasion of the Quakers troubling those parts. 4to. London. 1656. This is a quarto tract, with an Epistle Dedicatory to the Worshipfull Dudley Templer, Esq., Justice of the Peace in Essex, dated the twenty-eighth of February, 1655, (2 leaves) To the Reader (1 leaf) and the Sermon (*pp.* 1, *to* 54.) It appears that the author had "resolved "against medling with this sect," but was

"forced to it"—having been twice interrupted as he was preaching.

Edward Burrough, a voluminous Quaker writer, replied to this sermon, in a quarto pamphlet of four sheets, printed in the same year, entitled: *Stablishing against Quaking Thrown down, and overturned, and no Defence found against it*, or an Answer to a Book called *Stablishing against Quaking*, put forth by Giles Firmin, a Professed Minister in Essex. London. Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-Spread-Eagle, at the West End of Pauls. 1656. It was reprinted in Burrough's Works: Page 153.

In 1657, Firmin edited a sermon of the celebrated Stephen Marshall, whom he "knew in life "and attended in death," on *The Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion vindicated: the Extent of his Power determined . . . before the First Parliament, on a Monthly Fast Day.* Firmin's part in this was in the shape of a Preface and Notes to the discourse which was on 1 Tim. ii. 2. The Preface is quoted in Neal's *History of the Puritans*: iv. 19.

In 1658, he published *A Treatise of Schism*, etc.; in 1659, *Tithes Vindicated*, etc.; in 1660, *Presbyterial Ordination Vindicated;* and in the following year, he entered the lists against John Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, the author of the famous *Icon Basilike*. Gauden had published *Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England*. 4to. London. 1661. Firmin's work was entitled, *The Liturgical Considerator Considered:* or a brief Examination of Dr. Gauden's *Considerations* . . . with a Preface by Zachary Crofton. 4to. London. 1661.

In 1670, he published his *Real Christian*. Cotton Mather's warm expressions of respect and admiration, both for the book and its author, may

have had something to do with its subsequent reprint in Boston, in 1742. "More might be written of Mr. Giles Firmin, who visited New England in his younger years, but afterwards became, in England, an eminent preacher of the gospel, and a *writer*, as well as a *preacher* of it, "Among the rest of his books, that golden one, "which is entitled. '*The Real Christian*,' does "really prove the title to be his own character; "and the rest, as well as that, prove him to be "an able scholar, as well as a real Christian. I "suppose him to be yet living, in a fruitful old "age, at Ridgewel in Essex: but such demonstrations he hath still given of his affections "to New-England, on all occasions, that he "might justly have resented it, as an injury, if "he had been wholly omitted in the catalogue "of them that have deserved well of that "Country." *Magnalia:* Book III, Part IV, Chapter II.

Some expressions in this work led to a brief controversy between the author and his much more famous contemporary—Richard Baxter. Firmin appears to have thought that Baxter carried his views of meditation too far, in his *Saints' Rest*. Baxter says: "At this time, [1670] Mr. "*Giles Firmin*, a worthy minister that had lived "in *New-England*, writing against some Errors of "Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Shepheard*, Mr. *Daniel Rogers* "and Mr. *Perkins*, gave me also a gentle reproof, "for tying Men too strictly to Meditation; where-"to I wrote a short answer, called *A Review of* "*the Doctrine of Meditation*." *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*: Part III. 74. This answer was entitled: *The Duty of Heavenly Meditation reviewed by Richard Baxter, at the Invitation of Mr. Giles Firmin's Exceptions; in his Book entitled* "The "Real Christian." 4to. London. 1671. Firmin

soon replied with *Meditations upon Mr. Baxter's Review*. 4to. *n. p.* 1672.

A subsequent notice by Baxter, referring to it, is as follows: "Mr. *Giles Firmin*, a Silenced "Minister, writing somewhat against my Method "and Motions for Heavenly Meditation, in my "*Saints' Rest*, as too strict, and I having Answered "him, he wrote a weak Reply, which I thought "not worthy of a Rejoinder." *Ibid.* 102.

A later reference to Baxter by Firmin shows the substantial Christian union of these brethren, notwithstanding minor differences—especially as against those terrible heretics, the Antinomians of that day. Referring to "*Holy Mr. Corbet*, Mr. "*Baxter*, Mr. *Joseph Allen*, Mr. *Anthony Burges*, "etc," Firmin says "when I dye, I choose rather "to have my Soul gathered with theirs then with "any *Antinomian* in *England*, though I question "not the salvation of some of them." *Brief Review*, 29.

The Questions between the Conformists and Non-conformists truly stated and briefly discussed, in answer to Dr. Falkner, and the Friendly Debate. 4to. 1681.

Cotton Mather gives an extract from this pamphlet in his *Magnalia*; in the Appendix to his Life of Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, Book III, Chapter XIV.

A Plea for the Children of Believing Parents. 8vo. London. 1683.

In 1687, Thomas Grantham published his *Presumption no Proof of Mr. Petto's arguments for infant baptism, answered:* whereunto is prefixed an answer to two questions by Mr. Firmin about infants church-membership and baptism. 4to. London. 1687. To this, Firmin responded in his *Scripture Warrant sufficient Proof for Infant Baptism*, being a Reply to Mr. Gran-

tham's *Presumption no Proof.* 12mo. London. 1688; and another pamphlet, in the following year, *An Answer to Mr. Grantham's vain Ques-Question.* etc. 4to. 1689.

His *Weighty Questions Discussed.* etc. 4to. London, 1692, is advertised among the works on Divinity, in a Catalogue of Books continued, Printed and Published in *London*, in Michaelmas-Term, 1693, as follows:

"35. Weighty Questions discussed, whether "Imposition of Hands in separating a Person to "the work of the Ministry be necessary: Also "whether the teaching Elders, and the Members, "ought to meet always in one place. Whereunto "is added a prediction of Mr. *Daniel Rogers*, "Minister in *Essex* long before the beheading K. "*Charles* the First, and Arch-Bishop *Laud*, "foretelling that they should not dye a Natural "Death; by *Giles Fermin* Author of the Real "Christian, 4to. price 6*d.*"

This "little pamphlet greatly pleased" George Porter, Canon of Christ Church and sometime Proctor of the University at Cambridge.

Another work of his was *Some Remarks upon the Anabaptists Answer to the Athenian Mercuries.* 4to.

By far the most interesting (to us) of all the writings of Firmin which have fallen under our notice is the following:

Παναργια *A Brief Review of Mr. Davis's Vindication: giving no Satisfaction.* Being For the greatest part of it, no direct Answer to what is charged upon him; but meer Evasions, to deceive his Reader. Things that tends to practise, are chiefly insisted upon: Other things but lightly touched. To which is added, Remarks upon some Passages of Mr. *Crisp* in his Book, Entituled, *Christ alone Exalted.* The

Reason of the Author's Engaging in this Controversy, is given in the Preface to the Reader. By *Giles Firmin*, one of the United Brethren. *Mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have Learned, and avoid them.* Rom. 16.17. The God of Peace, shall bruise Satan under your Feet shortly. Ibid. v. 20. London. Printed for *John Lawrence*, at the *Angel* in the *Poultrey*. 1693.

The Author's Preface to the Reader presents in some passages a graphic picture of the dissensions in Massachusetts, in 1637; and his personal references are the more striking in view of the scarcity of such memorials of the actors in those scenes. The tract is so rare that we need make no apology for reproducing all this part of it.

"To the Reader.

"THE *Book Entituled*, the Horrible Plague "begun at *Rowel*, &c., *was sent to me, by* "*an unknown Hand: When I read it, I found my* "*Name mentioned*, p. 14. *my Brethren might have* "*named others, far better than my self; but they* "*were pleased to mention my Name alone. I had* "*no thoughts to meddle with the Controversy; but* "*reading Mr.* Davis *Vindication* of himself, and* "*observing he found fault with that, for which* "*they named me: I resolved to defend that Doc-* "*trine, which I had delivered; and for which they* "*quoted me.*

"*As for these* Antinomian *Tenets, vented by Dr.*

Davis, Richard, *Truth and Innocency vindicated against Falsehood and Malice expressed in a late Pamphlet entitled:* A True Account of a most Horrid and Dismal Plague begun at Rothwell, &c., to which is added, Mr. Robert Betson's Answer to so much as concerns him in the said Libel. 4to. London. 1693.

"Crisp,* *and Mr.* Davis, *I have Reason to be ac-*
"*quainted with them: First living in an* An-
"tinomian *Family, about* 66 *years since, when*
"*I was a School-Boy. During the three years of*
"*my living there,* [*giving them their Opinions,*] *it*
"*was as well ordered a Family, as any in the Town,*
"*strictly observing the Lords Day. One Notion*
"*I observed there, which I never heard before, nor*
"*since: It was the Interpretation of the* Revel.
"12. 1. *It was a Manuscript fastned to a board.*
"I saw a Woman Clothed with the Sun. [*That*
"*is, the Church Clothed with the Righteousness of*
"*Christ, to her* Justification] and the Moon, [*that*
"*is,* Sanctification] under her Feet.
"*After I went from thence to* Cambridge, *and*
"*from thence to* New-England; *upon my return*
"*hither, I visited the Family: As to their*
"*Morals, they held very sober: But as to their*
"*Opinions, more corrupt.*
"*The Lords Day, which they did so strictly ob-*
"*serve before, and did not now openly profane it,*
"*yet the* Morality *now is denyed; and one of the*
"*Company, who did answer his Name,* (Mud *was*
"*his Name, and a very* Muddy *Fellow he was*)
"*brought them to these Opinions;*
"1. If there were any such thing, as Sin in the
"World, God was the Author of it; [*as for Sin,*
"*being* Res *or* Ens, *they did not understand that.*]
"2. As dyeth the Beast, so dyeth Man, denying
"a Future State. *I alledged that in* 1 Cor. 15.
"19. If in this Life only we have hope in Christ,
"we are of all Men, the most Miserable: *They told*

---

* Crisp, Samuel, *Christ alone Exalted*, in Dr. Tobias Crisp's Sermons, in Answer to Mr. D. Williams Preface to his Gospel Truth stated. 4to. London, 1693.

Tobias Crisp, the father of this writer, was the author of the volume entitled "Christ alone Exalted, etc." a 12 mo. volume, published in London, in 1643.

"*me, that was a Text something hard to answer;*
"*but they thought it might be answered: But*
"*there I left them, and never saw them more:*
"*When we can make nothing of lesser Errors,*
"*God may give us up to them, which are gross.*
"*When I returned to* New-England*; before our*
"*Ship came into Harbour, a Shallop coming of*
"*Shore to us, the Men told us,* the Churches were
"on fire. *I was amazed to hear it; for I left*
"*them all in Unity and Peace. When I came on*
"*Shoar, I was told, the Heat, the Animosities were*
"*so high, that they were ready to lay Hands on their*
"*Swords, to draw one against another. Mr.*
"Wheelwright *a Minister, acted his part there, as*
"*Mr.* Davis *doth here. All the Discourse was*
"*about* Justification, *and the Assurance of it by*
"*the immediate Testimony of the Spirit, or an*
"*absolute promise applyed by the Spirit. To*
"*speak of Conditional promises, Sanctification,*
"*or Marks, was a Mark of one under the Coven-*
"*ant of Works; a person to be despised.*
"*A Zealot, whose Name I see in the Book put*
"*forth by Mr.* Weld; *I asked him, I pray*
"*thee tell me, what is* Justification, *thou art so*
"*hot only upon it? He answered me,* truly 'tis
"so great a thing, that I do not know what it is.
"*As for any inherent work wrought by the Spirit,*
"*in the Hearts of sound believers, this was slight-*
"*ed. It fell out so, when I came on shoar, that*
"*the Governor with whom I lived before, was not at*
"*home*: Our Pastor, was gone with the Souldiers,*
"*to the* Pequit *War.*† *I could not tell whether to*

* On the twenty-third of June, 1637, Governor Winthrop made a progress to Sagus, and so to Salem and Ipswich, returning on the twenty-eighth. Two ships arrived from London during his absence. SAVAGE'S WINTHROP: i. 227.

† John Wilson, the Pastor of the Boston Church, was appointed by lot, on the seventeenth of May, 1637, "to go fourth "with the souldiers against the Pecoits," *Mass. Records:*

"*go; but Mrs.* Hutchison's *Son* being my Mess-*
"*mate in the Ship, he carryed me to his Mothers*
"*House, where I eat my first Meal: Discoursing*
"*of several things at Table [though I had not seen*
"*Mr.* Cotton *our Teacher; being chosen to Office,*
"*while I was in* England,†] *I told them, I heard*
"*such things charged upon Mr.* Cotton*; which I did*
"*believe, he would never own; [he told me himself*
"*how he was abused by them, when I grew acquaint-*
"*ed with him] Mrs.* Hutchison, *asked me, what it*
"*was? I told her, that he should say,* there was no
"difference between the Graces wrought in a child
"of God, and what was wrought in an Hypocrite:
"*Several at the Table said, they never heard Mr.*
"Cotton *deliver any such thing; yes, said Mrs.*
"Hutchison, *he hath delivered something like it:*
"Will, said she, any Body say there is? *Then she*
"*and I fell to our work; she was soon put to silence;*
"*this was the first and the last Discourse, that ever*
"*I had with her. Mr.* Dyer, *the Husband of her*
"*that brought forth that horrid Monster;‡ he*
"*would have* Christ to be the New Creature, *and*
"*would prove it from the Greek Text,* 2 Cor. 5. 17.
"*εἴ τις ἐν χριστῷ, καινη κτισις joyning καινη κτισις*
"*with χριστῷ by* Apposition, *and so would read it*

---

i. 195. He returned from the expedition on the fifth of August, 1637. Savage's Winthrop: i. 235, Compare the *Short Story*, etc., London. 1644. Page 25.

* Winthrop notices, under date of the twelfth of July, 1637, the arrival of a *brother* of Mrs. Hutchinson, concerning whom Mr. Savage says "what ship he came in, who he was, or where he lived, are all unknown." Savage's Winthrop: i. 233.

† John Cotton was ordained Teacher, on the tenth of October, 1633.

‡ In *H. M. Public Record Office, Colonial Papers*, Vol. ix. 74, is a "Description of a monstrous birth at Boston in New "England, brought forth by Mary, wife of William Dyer, "sometime milliner in the New Exchange in London. Cer-"tified by John Winthrop, gent. of the Massachusetts, who "saw it." Sainsbury's *Calendar*: 259. Compare Savage's *Winthrop:* i. 261-263

"*thus:* If any Man be in Christ, the New Crea-
"ture; *had he been at school, his false* Grammar,
"*might have cost him a lash.** *Our Pastor Mr.*
"Wilson, *a precious Saint, he was despised by*
"*them; though a Man of a singular Spirit. Our*
"*Governour, old Mr.* John Winthrop,† *a Man for*
"*Grace, high apprehensions of God, Self-denial,*
"*spending all his Estate for the Common good,*
"*was one of a thousand, he was slightly esteemed*
"*by them. One of this* Antinomian *Gang, because*
"*he was a Member of the Church; in the Debates*
"*they had in the Church, calls him* Brother
"Governour, *when he spake to him. I think,*
"*Christianity doth not teach Men to deny Civil Re-*
"*spect, and Honour to Magistrates: But thus did*
"*our Troubles continue, till the* Synod *having Con-*
"*demned their Errors, Mrs.* Hutchison *Excom-*
"*municated, Mr.* Vaughan [*who when Governor,*
"*was the great Favourer and Maintainer of these*
"*Errors, and did animate that Faction*] *by the* Free-
"Men *cast out from being so much as an* Assistant;
"*so he and Mr.* Wheelwright *left us: The Heads*
"*of that party removed from us, then our Trou-*
"*bles began to cease,* Sanctification *came to be in*
"*some Request again; and there were* Notes *and*

---

* "The work of inherent holinesse which maketh us new "Creatures, is a distinct thing from Christ his person: though "among our *New England* notions, this was received when "the errours raged there, that Christ was the new Creature; "but for the 2 Cor. 5. 17 they made miserable Grammar of the "verse," etc. *Stablishing against Shaking:* p. 35. Compare also Hubbard's notice of this specimen of "Familism," in his account of the Synod of 1637. *General History of New England*, Second Edition, 303.

† Firmin refers to Winthrop in another work—"that "worthy and honourable man Mr. *Winthrop*, who was a "solid man, a good scholar, and naturall Philosopher, fitted "to speake excellently, and did sometimes, before Mr. *Cot-*"*ton* went over to *New England*, when the officers desired "him, but I never heard whether he did, after Mr. *Cotton* "came." *Separation Examined*, 87.

"Marks *given of a good Estate: I took Notice when*
"*the word was* first *used, and what the* Mark *was.*
"*The Insolent, Proud Carriages of that Party in*
"New-England, *makes me to have no good Opinion*
"*of them in England. What woful work, the Tur-*
"*bulent Spirit of Mr.* Davis, *with* His *Gospel*
"[*not Christs*] *hath made, we hear from several*
"*parts. The Pastor of a Church near us being*
"*dead, word was sent there were two Ministers,*
"*whose Churches Mr.* Davis *had broken, they*
"*might have which they would; with divers others*
"*besides. Many things I read in Mr.* Davis *with*
"*Abhorrency, and would have spoken to them*; *but*
"*that I saw my Sheets increased beyond my Inten-*
"*tion: I chose rather to speak to them, which*
"*were more practical. If in the close of my Days,*
"*I may do any Service to the Church of Christ,*
"[*while others who have better Parts and Grace,*
"*will do more:*] *I shall have cause to walk humb-*
"*ly and thankfully before the Lord for it.*

"The unworthyest of
"Christs Ministers.
"*Giles Firmin.*

"*Redgwell*
"*April* 24.93."

Such vivid recollections, after the lapse of more than half a century crowded with the most stirring events of the history of his country, clearly show how sharp and distinct the original impressions must have been in the mind of the youthful Puritan, as he moved among the stern men and earnest women who laid the foundations of New England. Such reminiscences as those of Winthrop, and Wilson, and especially the writer's encounter with that "Master-piece of Women's wit," Anne Hutchinson, lend a new interest to the history of his own career. Would that we could find, some-

where, her version of this "first and last dis-"course" with the young physician, in which "she was soon put to silence." It is difficult to believe that a strange youth of twenty could achieve such a triumph over such a woman, among a large company, in her own house, and at her own table. Yet he undoubtedly thought he had the best of the argument; and if he ruled his own spirit, certainly won a victory, which the impartial verdict of History can not ascribe to the lay and clerical tormentors who worried the brave woman through examinations so long that they were nearly "sick with fasting," before they pronounced the sentence of banishment, evidently agreed upon before-hand.

There are several other piquant references to the Antinomians of New England, scattered through this tract, of which the latter portion, "Against "Lay Preachers," is very cogent and spicy. The writer's New England acquaintances and experiences constantly reappear; and his anecdotes are always highly pertinent and well applied—though some of them would hardly bear repetition here. Both Old and New England were mightily disturbed in his time, by "gifted brethren," who found ample opportunity to exercise their gifts, when any man might become a preacher, and almost any preacher could collect a congregation. Firmin tells us that Mr. Ward called it *exorcising* their gifts—*apropos* of an unsavory story about one "bog-fellow," whose name he conceals.

"As for your *Mechanicks*, which you have "sent out, as your Apostles, I look upon them, "as I do upon all these *Lay Preachers* in *Eng-*"*land*, now risen up in this boundless Liberty, "to be but the Devils Design, first to *Debase* the "Ministry, and then to *overthrow it*. I can re-

"member the time very well, when the Ministry
"of *England* was in *Honour*, and Converting
"work went on: No such Debauchery was
"known or heard of in the Gentry and Ministry,
"as is now. But when Bp. *Laud* and his party
"fell to Persecuting, Silencing, and driving
"Ministers out of the Nation, and Wars follow-
"ing, Buff-Coats and Red-Coats getting into
"Pulpits, the Religious were they, that gave the
"first blow to the Ministry; with our Armies,
"rose up an Army of Errors, and these did the
"business, having got the Sword in their Hand,
"to trample upon the Ministry. When the King
"came in and almost Two Thousand Minis-
"ters cast out in one day. For the generality,
"they were filled up with such, that they who
"Honoured the Minister, could not Honour them;
"and how many such are there at this day:
"then came in this boundless Toleration, that I
"have been told by such Magistrates, that are
"our Friends they have been ashamed, when they
"sate in the Court, to see what fellows came in,
"and demanded Licenses. And this is another
"fruit of the *English* Independency, they have
"done no Service to the Church, that have writ-
"ten and pleaded for the *gifted Brethren*, and
"bring in this Confusion; Had it not been for
"Learned Men, there had not been one Lay-
"Preacher in *England*: poor Men, they could
"not have understood two words of the Bible:
"But now, Learned Men have given them the
"Bible in their own Language, they insult our
"Learned Men, and despise Learning. But
"better all your gifted Brethren, and your Books
"with them, were buryed in the Earth, then
"Learning should be lost. It was not Godliness,
"but Learning, which God used immediately, to
"rescue us out of the Papal darkness: And if

"Learning once were gone, soon would the "Popish party make a prey of *England*."

Firmin also quotes passages of letters to him "out of New England" from Mr. Shephard, whom he calls "a Master-Workman," and from "that *Acute*, *Learned* and *Godly* Divine, Mr. Norton. Both these passages he had printed before, the former in the *Real Christian*, (*Page* 55. *Compare Pages* 19, 214,); and the latter in the Epistle before the *Treatise of Schism*.

He concludes this tract with a pithy criticism upon the "high commendation" his antagonist had given of himself, and contrasts his pride with the humility of "that Eminent Servant of "Christ, Mr. *Thomas Hooker* in New England. " . . . This Holy Man kept up the Assur- "ance of God's love above twenty years, walking "with God: *I won it by Fasting and Prayer*, "*and if I loose it, I will loose it by Fasting and* "*Prayer, said he;* and as I was informed by a "worthy gentlemen, when he lay on his Death- "Bed, his Church came to him standing about "his Bed; and now came to hear the last words "of their Eminent Pastor, what he would leave "with them: This Eminent Man, making a "pause a while, he breaks out with the Publican: "*Lord have Mercy upon me, a Sinner.* O Gra- "cious, Humble Heart."

This is an interesting addition to Cotton Mather's account of the death of "*The Light of* "*the Western Churches*"—one of "*The* "*First Three*."

XIV.

THE CROSS IN THE KING'S COLORS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

[Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4888. ff. 86–91.]

THE *second part of ye Frier's case mentiond & recited in the Roman Horsleech, or an account of an as famous & ridiculous action & Dispute that happend in New England about ye Year* 1633 *whether ye Red Cross in the Banner of England was an Idol or no, with ye argument's urged on both sides.*

In 1633 or whereabouts when people were Revelation mad and drunk with scism & blind zeal one* of ye chief men of Boston in New England being then in authority & warmd with a lecture against that which ye Ignorant call superstition, with a daring Impudence set up for a Reformer of ye Kings Colour's & haveing taken ye same in his sanctifyd hands took his conscience to witness against a monstrous Idol that he found there in, to witt, a great Cross, & there upon drawing his Knife bravely cut it out with a great deal of self satisfaction & applause & ye next day boldly confess'd & defended ye same.

This unparralel'd Act created great differences in ye Town, amongst all sorts of People, as well amongst those who have nothing to do with af-

* A marginal note on the original manuscript says: "it "was Sr. Harry Vane;" but this is an obvious error, for Vane did not come to New England until 1635, and John Endicott was the well known witness against the cross on this occasion. Indeed, Vane's overruling the over-scrupulous brethren in the subsequent affair of the *Hector*, when the flag was finally displayed in spite of their authority, on the personal responsibility of Vane and Dudley, was among the first occasions of the opposition which ultimately broke him down.

fairs of such a nature as those that had in so much that ye very women were fit to pull coive's about it. As for ye common Soldier's who had as little of Religion as Courage or Honesty amongst them, most of them commended ye Act declairing that theyd sooner turn Heathen's & yield to ye Enemy than follow or fight under a Popeish Idol, a Cross (Lord have mercy upon us!) they'd have no more to do with now than with him that sufferd upon one. Yet others amonst them mantaind ye Lawfulness there of, & that they would not deny following ye same in their colours least that they should seem to cast of their allegiance to ye Crown of England.

At length this mighty Matter was carryd on with such fury that ye whole Collony seemd to be in an uproar, so that the General Court were forced to take it into their Cognizance, where after a great Bustle & Stir a Committe was chosen & appointed both by ye Magistrates and People, of ye Freemen of ye Collony to examin into ye Matter, where after many teadious Debates, It was carryed by three votes: that tho' their Brother had done well & acted like a good tender conscion'd Christian, that yet nevertheless he had not done prudently; and tho that he did not deserve any punishment for ye Act it self, yet that he ought to be discharged his place in ye Government for ye same for going so bunglingly about it, & for fear that their Charters & Priviledges should by a seizure from ye King make an attonement for ye same. Upon which he was called in Court and this cruel, hard, Sentence of Deposition passd mildly upon him—& he himself Registerd amongst ye St & Sufferer's of ye Lord for ye Testimony that he bore against a Popeish Idol. Yet at ye same time did they fully agree that seeing that ye Cross was cut out, & that

it undoubtedly was a Badg of Antichrist & a Mark of ye Limb of ye Divel, & that no one of their side ye Great Dike had any Power to put it in again, that therefore ye use of it should be forborn for ye future amongst them, for fear that ye People should turn Idolater's & God should bring upon them beside's ye Plague's of Impudence, Heresey, Scism, Blind Superstition & such like, all those not half so ill ye Ten plagues of Egypt.

The Reverend Spite-Fire's that were summond from all ye Country round & commanded to lay their heads together upon this weighty Matter argued against ye use of ye Cross in ye Banner thus :

The question, sayd they, is not whether a private Man may not march after his colour's, which have the Cross in them : for ye Christian Legions never scrupled following ye Labarum of ye Roman Emperor's which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea ye Jews themselves that made such earnest Suit first unto Pilate & then unto Petronius to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from ye walls of their Temple : yet without any scruple followd it in ye field. Nor is it ye question (sayd they) whether ye Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from our Enemys, or to defend us from Disasters, or to procure Victorys unto us. tho' ye faith wch ye Roman Catholicks have in it, mentiond by Hoveden in ye Reign of Henry ye 2d, when England, France & Flanders distinguished themselves by their varietys of it. Ever since retained, is abominable to all real Protestants. But ye question is whether ye Cross as representing ye Cross of Christ, erected as a Badg of Christianity, & a Sign of Distinction between Christians & Infidels may by any Prince or State, be now in their

Banners reserved & employd? This they approved not, & that for all these daughty Reason's.

First—That which God hath commanded utterly to be destroyd should not be retained for ye important uses of Men. But God has commanded ye Cross in ye Banner to be destroyd. this may be thus proved Images of Idols are commanded utterly to be destroyd; But ye Cross in ye Banner is ye Image of an Idol. & ye greatest Idol in ye church of Rome. As for ye Text in Deutr: where this is commanded it dos affect christians as well as Jews, because that ye moral Reason of ye command yet continues. If that it be objected that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyd. it may be answerd—Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However we may distinguish between Temples dedicated unto God by Creatures. ye Papists which Aquinas deny their Temples to have been dedicated unto Sts. But affirm them dedicated unto ye honour & service of God for his Blessings communicated by Ye Sts whose names are used on this occasion. these Temples being purgd from their superstitious Designation's may be still used for our Christian assemblys, as our Saviour used ye Jewish Water Pots to turn Water into Wine, tho' they were superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there.

2dly There is no Civel Honour to be given to ye Image of an Idol, ye 2d Commandment forbids all sorts of Honour not onely sacred, but Civel also to such an Image, Yea, and elswhere all mention of it with honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into ye Banner is to put a Civel & no little honour upon it, it is ye Cross in ye Ensign which dos insignize & render it Ensign, & it was ye Intention of Constantine to honour

ye Cross when he interdicted all execution's of Malefactors upon it, & advanced it into his banner.

3dly If ye Figure of ye Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badg of ye Religion & Profession of ye Israelites, then ye Figure of ye Cross may not be used as a Badg of ye Religion & Profession of ye Protestants, for there is a like proportion, for ye Papists regard ye Cross as ye Altar where on Our Lord was offerd; now such a figure of an Altar was unlawfull to ye People of God.

4ly That which was Execrable to Our Lord; ye Sign of it should not be honourable to us, but so was ye Cross or Our Lord, for it made his Death accursed, nor was it a pure Instrument of meer Martyrdom unto him.

5ly If the Partakeing of Idolothytes in ye Places where ye Idols are worshipd, express a Communion with Idols & Idolaters; then ye setting up of ye Cross in ye Places where Idolaters do worship it, namely in ye Banner, is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. Tis true such meats when sold in ye Shambles might be eaten without scruple of Conscience; but besides this that it was onely a common place where these might be eaten, whereas ye Cross in ye Banner is in ye Temple where ye apocaliptic Gentiles adore it. Besides that they were Creatures of God, whereas ye Cross in ye Banner is onely a human Contrivance, so if it had been Lawfull for a man to have bought ye silver Shrines of Diana & have causd them to be worn for ye Cognizance of his family or his attendants: ye Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in ye Banner for a Cognizance.

Lastly—If ye first use of ye Cross in ye Banner by Constantine was superstitious, then ye first

fruits being unclean ye whole Lump of ye following use is also unclean : But Eusebius tells us that ye Emperor used this Saveing Sign as a protection against all warlike & hostil Powers, & Sosomen tells us—that ye Emperor changed ye Image of ye Roman Labarum for ye Sign of ye Cross, that so ye Soldiers who where accustomed to worship ye Heathen Imperial Ensign, by ye Continual sight and Worship of ye Cross might be weaned from their Country rights & brought to worship that God alone whose Sign it was.

On ye otherside they that pleaded for ye use of ye Cross in ye Banner, argued after this fashion. To state ye question wee must know that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayd, & a Banner with a cross in it serves the End of a Banner as much as any other. Had ye Cross never been superstitiously abused, the Civel use of that figure could not be questiond. But ye superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto ye Civel use, & accordingly ye superstitious abuse may again be removed from it, otherwise what a Desolation of Bells & other things must be produced by a just Reformation of superstition? Wherefore if ye Present Authority dos neither appoint nor declare any superstition in ye observation of any civel usage, ye superstition of that usage is at an End. Thus tho' it be notoriously known that many Person's in Authority have their superstitious conceits about Churches : yet, inasmuch as there is no Injunction of Authority upon private Persons to approve any such Conceits, tis no superstition in such Persons to use those churches unto Lawfull uses or purposes. Ye Question then is whether ye Civel use of ye Cross in ye Banner may not be separated from ye superstitious abuse of it. And it seems as it may—

First—If names that have been abused for ye honour of Idols may in a civel way be still used: then things that have been so abused may be in ye like manner used for a civel Distinction. But we find ye names of Apollo and Phoebe & ye like used in ye Apostolic Salutations, altho' it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed ye names at first sinfully imposed upon them: than for ye Cross in ye Banner to be now wholy layd aside. if any Heathen King put an honour upon his Idol Bell by saying O Beltesha-zar, ye Spirit of God may speak it without any honour at all to that Idol.

2dly It is one thing to describe a Cross as an Artificial thing by way of Civel Signification, & another thing to employ a Cross as a Sacramental thing, by way of sacred observation & in ye Banner tis ye former, not ye latter way that it is considered. When I am relateing how a Papist crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by making an Aerial Cross like his. Where as it would not be lawfull for me to make such a Cross upon ye same ends with him.

3dly If that ye Cross first used by Constantine had in it any thing unwarantable, if follows not, that ye following use of it, is of ye same Lump with ye first, for if it now be used upon another Design the uncleaness is taken away. Besides Constantine brought ye Cross with as much unwarantableness into his Coin's as he did into his banner, but tis certain that there are few or none this day that would refuse money tho' they got thereon a Popish Idol, but would set mighty esteem on it ye bigger & ye better ye Cross was.

4ly Meats, tho' sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten when sold & bought in ye Market. Now a Cross is an Effect of Art & is a Creature of

Gods as well as any of Ye meats bre'd & cooked by men.

* * * * *

XV.

CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS FOR THE BETTER ACCOMODATING THE FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS WITH SERVANTS REPORTED FROM THE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCELL OF FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS. [*Circa* 1684.]

[S. P. O. Colonial Entry Book. No. 92. p. 275.]

1. It being universally agreed that people are the foundation and improvement of all plantations and that people are encreased principally by sending of servants thither, it is necessary that a settled course be taken for the furnishing them with servants.

2. Servants are either blacks or whites.

3. Blacks are such as are brought by waye of trade and are sould at about £20 a head one with another and are the principall and most usefull appurtenances of a plantation and are such as are perpetuall servants.

4. Whites are such as are diverse waies gathered up here in England, verie few from Ireland or Scotland and being transported at the charge of about £6. a head are there entertained by such as they are consigned to from hence or are exchanged for comodities with such as have occasion for them at different rathes according to theire condicon or trade by w^{ch} they are rendred more usefull and beneficiall to theire masters. These after certaine yeares are free to plant for themselves

or to take wages for theire service as they shall aggree and have to the valine of tenn pounds sterl. to begin planting for themselves.

5. The waies of obtayning these servants have beene usually by employing a sorte of men and women who make it theire profession to tempt or gaine poore or idle persons to goe to the Plantations and haveing persuaded or deceived them on shipp board they receive a reward from the person who employed them.

6. When the shipps is to be cleared at Graves End ofttymes the servants soe obtayned doe make complaint that they were forced or seduced and some cunning rogues after they have beene fedd aboard perhapps a month or longer doe by this meanes avoyd the voyage.

7. For the prevention of the many evills wch doe happen in the forceing tempting and seduceing of servants and for a more certaine and orderly supply of them it may be necessary that an act of Parliamt should pass with such powers and provisions as may be proper to the thing intended and necessary to the plantacons and convenient and beneficiall to the places from wch servants may be drawn.

8. That all felons and such as are condemned to death unless for murther or treason and such particular hainous felonies as shall be excepted shall by the mercy of the King if he thinks itt fitt not to pardon them bee repreived and design'd to forreigne plantations to serve twice seaven yeares at least and to have the value of tenn pounds sett up planting for themselves.

9. That all persons to whome clergie is allowed may instead of being burnt in the hand be designd to the plantations for 7 yeares at least unlesse his Matie shall give the man especiall pardon it being found by constant experience that the cheife

theifes and contrivers of robberies are such as are escaped death by being burnt in the hand.

10. That all sturdy beggers as gipsies and other incorrigble rogues and vanderers may be taken upp by cunstaples and imprisoned untill at the next Assizes or Sessions they shall either be acquitted and assigned to some setled aboade and course of life here or be appointed to be sent to the plantacions for five yeares under the condicions of servants.

11. And for as much as persons condemned and such rogues grawne withe in all manner of villaine and habituated to a depraved and lazie conversacion are but ill seed for a younng plantacion and will bring scandall, evell example and severall inconveniences to any place or Collonie to wch they shall be assigned and appropriated it may be expedient that directions and instructions be given to the Governors of the Charibbee islands to receive such as be appointed to them by the Comrs heere and to exchange them for servants more civill and such as have beene seasoned with the climat and have been exercised in the works of planting & because it may be somewhat hard to expect such an unequall exchange it may be ballanced to them by haveing those sent from thence under the conditions of tenn yeares service and by excepting instead of them such as perhaps have not above three or fower yeares to serve according to the custome or contracts with theire masters.

12. That whereas there are divers Townes, Villages, and Parishes in this nacion where the numbers of poore and idle debauched persons are exceeding greate and where there is either no meanes for the setting them on worke or by theire parents or themselves they are applyed to stealing or other idle or evil courses to the greate scandale and inconveniencie of the nacion it

may bee adviseable that a provision be made for the inviteing and receiving or compelling if it shall be judged fitt by the law in that case to be provided some few out of such Townes Villages or Parishes yearly who being especially to bee taken care of by the Com^rs appointed here to the managem^t of those affaires may be consign'd to a plantation of his Ma^ties in Jamaica where they may bee well ordered and haveing served there certaine yeares may have land asigned them and haveing certaine tooles and utensills allowed them upon the publicq stock may become good planters usefull to the plantation and comfortable and hopefull to theire friends.

13. And because a worke so publicke and of so greate importance ought to bee mannaged by some publicq persons it may be expedient that the care conducte and comptroll of all matters relating to the transportation of servants be referred to certain Com^rs proper and instructed thereunto.

14. That there bee before these Comiss^rs a Registrie or Entrie of all servants that shall be transported from any part or place in England.

15. That the Com^rs shall appointe an Officer upon oath in such ports as they shall thinke fitt for the registring every person that shall be transported as a servant his age and the place where hee was borne and where he was last resident.

16. That all such condemned persons or others as by the lawes and by the judges or justices in sessions shall be judged or compelled to goe into the Forreigne plantations as Servants shall within three daies after such judgment be certified by the Clarke of the peace or Clark of Assize to the said Com^rs or their Register and that the said Com^rs or Register doe write to the Sheriffes of the respective Counties or Cities asseigning to what

other Sheriffe or place or port they shall be delivered where there may be certaine worke howses erected for the receiving and employing them untill they shall be transported.

17. That the Com^rs appointed thereunto shall take a settled care for the receiving transporting and consigning such persons as shall be by the law to be disposed of.

18. That it shall be left to the discretion of the said Com^rs how the said servants may be the best disposed of to the advantage of his Ma^tie and to the publicq utilitie in order to w^ch they may dispose so many as by theire correspondencie with his Ma^ties Goverment upon the place shall be judged necessary for his Ma^tie imediate service either to the enabling the soldiers of Jamaica to bee Planters or to any other service or occasion and may order the rest to bee hired out or exchanged for provisions or other things necessary for his Ma^ties plantacion.

19. And that this waie of supplying the forreigne Plantations may prove no grievance or inconvenience to the Merchants or Planters of the severall Collonies the former accustomed liberty may be still left them fayrely to provide for theire owne use such servants as they can here contract with they being obleidged to enter them at the port or places where they shall be shipped and cleared that thence they may be registered before the Com^rs in the Grall Registrie.

20. And lastly when as the severall servants that are sent from thence shall arrive in the respective Collonies and Plantacions it may be convenient that they may be there registred by the respective Secretaries and that every six months the said Secretaries doe transmitt the names of the said servants and the places and persons to whome they are dispersed that theire friends may

the better understand from the Register here how they may heere of them or correspond with them.

XVI.

JOHN SAFFIN AND HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

[Mass. Archives, XI, 152, 153.]

TO *his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Captaine Generall & Comandor in chief in & over Her Majestys Province of the Massathussetts Bay in New England The Honble Council & Representatives Convened in the Great & Genll Court att Boston on the Twenty Sixth Day of May Anno* 1703—

The Petition of JOHN SAFFIN Esq in all Humility Presenteth.

As the Parliament of England is the Supream Councill of the Nation, and the Sovereign Remedy of all grievances, Oppressions, & Male Administrations of the Greatest Peers of the Realm, and the Highest Courts of Judicature Even so this great & Genll Court or Assembly is (as yor Petionr humbly conceives) an Embleme or Similitude of that Power Derived from the Royall Charter granted to the People of this Province for the Redressing of the grievances Oppressions Male Administrations and Tort Actions of the greatest Persons or Courts of Judicature Subordinate to this Grand Assembly. And therefore it is, that yor humble Petir (finding no other Remedy) is Imboldned humbly to Address this great Council, & Implore their Ayd, that they would be pleased to grant him Audience in a matter wherein he is greatly Injured & Oppressed; and in such a manner he presumes there

hath not been the like done in New England. The thing in brief is this. Yo^r Peti^r hath a certaine Negro man named Adam that is with held or taken from him yo^r Peti^r under countenance of Authority (not collour of law) w^ch Negro hath sooner or later cost yo^r Peti^r above Threescore pounds. The pretended matter in Controversy hath been twice before no less than two Justices of the Peace, and at four severall Superior Courts, & continued above these two years last past, and yet is not Determined, nor doth yo^r Peti^r know when it will, in the meantime yo^r Peti^r is made a meer Vassall to his slave in being at continuall cost and Charges about him to supply him with all manner of Necessarys as Cloaths, Bedding food and Phisick, and attendance when lately he had the Small pox. Allso to pay the keeper for his keeping in Prison Three months where he was by the Quarter Sessions committed for his outrages & murtherous attempts at the Castle : generally known, (a Narrative whereof being in Print,) yet for all this the said vile Negro is at this Day set at large to goe at his pleasure, in open Defiance of me his Master in danger of my life, he haveing threatned to be Revenged of me and all them that have Cross't his turbulent Humour, to the great Scandall and Evill Example of all Negros both in Town and Countrey whose Eyes are upon this wretched Negro to see the Issue of these his Exorbitant practices.

The Premisses Considered yo Peti^r doth humbly Implore this Hon^ble Assembly to grant Redress by Vouchsafeing yo^r Peti^r a hearing either before this Hon^ble Assembly or by a Comittee as in yo^r Wisdomes you shall Deeme most Convenient, the various Circumstances of those Transactions being so large as to Exceed the limitts of A petition in Writeing ; And allso that

upon the understanding the Justice of yor Petirs cause yor Honors will be pleased to doe him Right in all Respects, by Restoreing his said Negro to yor Petir that as an English Subject he may Dispose of his said Negro, as he shall see cause for his own Safty, and all other of her Majestys good Subjects that may be Exposed to any Detriment by the sd Negros villainous practices.

And yor Petionr as in Duty bound shall Pray &c. JOHN SAFFIN.

In the House of Representatives
June 1rst 1703 Read, June 3rd Read

ORDERED That the Petitioner have a Hearing before this Court on the 2d Wednesday of the next Session.

Sent up for Concurrence.

JAMS CONVERSE Speaker.

In Council June 3d 1703

Read and not agreed to, and ordered That the matter be heard before the next Court of Generall Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk

ISA ADDINGTON Secry

In the House of Representatives June 3d 1703 Read and Agreed.

JAMS. CONVERSE Speaker.

[*Endorsed*]

Petition of John Saffin Esq
June 1, 1703.

To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^r Governr Capt Genll and Comandr in Chief in & over Her Maties Province of the Massethusetts Bay in New England &c. the Honble Council & House of Representatives Now Assembled Novembr 15th 1703

Shewеth

The Petition of John Saffin Esq^r most humbly

That there is a certaine Negro man Named Adam Servant to yor Petitionr who hath by his Vile behaviour Exposd yor Petir to very much trouble and Charge above two years & half last past haveing been at no less than five Superior Courts & two Inferior Courts seeking to Obteine his freedom under the pretence of A Writeing under the hand of yor Petir when he lett his farme at Bristol to Thomas Shepard with the said Negro, knowing him to be a Desperate Dangerous Villaine, and of a Turbulent humour I Endeavored to Oblige him to his Duty, and thereupon promised his freedome under my hand att the End of the Terme upon the Conditions in the words following Vizt Allways Provided that the said Adam my Servant Doe in the meane time goe on Chearfully quietly & Indurtriously in the lawfull Business that Either my Selfe or my Assigns shall from time to time Reasonably sett him about or Imploy him in And Doe behave & abare himself as an honiest true and faithfull Servant Ought to doe Dureing the Terme of Seven years as aforesaid.

Now may it please yor Excellency and this Honble Assembly the said Negro hath in no wise performed the Conditions on wch he was to be free But on the Contrary hath behaved himself Turbulently Neglegently Insolently and Outragiously both to yor Petir and his Tenant Thomas Shepard his wife and family, and Others where

X953

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 011 710 186 1